Vergil's Menagerie: animal imagery in the *Aeneid*

by

John Clifford Meyer

Dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University

Supervisor: Dr Annemarie de Villiers

December 2020

Declaration

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

December 2020

Abstract

The constant presence of animals is a defining characteristic of ancient epic, but one that is not often examined in its own right. The focus of this study is on Vergil's use of animal imagery in the *Aeneid*. In doing so, it examines how he manipulated, adapted and introduced new animals to the epic repertoire that made his work stand apart from earlier Greek epics such as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In the initial stages of research 450 animal references were identified in the *Aeneid*. Because of the sheer number, these findings were narrowed down to a choice of seven types of animals—the snake, lion, deer, wolf, dove, eagle and owl—for an in-depth study. Thereafter a close reading was done of passages where these seven species feature, in conjunction with corresponding passages from Homer, to identify developments that Vergil had made. At the same time Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* and Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* were consulted in concert to reveal Greek and Roman beliefs about these seven animals. The accumulation of this evidence shows that not only are animals inextricably linked with the epic's plot, but that there are clear innovations that Vergil made to the epic repertoire: 1) he presented greater insight into the emotions and thought processes of animals than his predecessors; 2) he frequently aligned his depiction of animal behaviour with those found in natural histories; 3) he used animals as a means of drawing attention to various conflicts, such as that between nature and civilisation, man and woman, and foreigner and native, and 4) he represented certain animals through a Roman lens, stressing their unique role in Roman mythology and superstition. By examining these four innovations, this thesis provides new insight into understanding not only the *Aeneid* but also the role that animals play in the epic.

Opsomming

Die teenwoordigheid van diere is deurgaans ‘n bepalende karaktereienskap in die antieke epos, maar word nie dikwels in eie reg ondersoek nie. Die gebruik van dieresimboliek deur Vergilius in die *Aeneïs* word in hierdie studie beklemtoon. Sy voorstelling, aanpassing en manipulasie van nuwe diere in die epiese diereryk onderskei sy werk van die vroëere Griekse eposse soos Homeros se *Ilias* en *Odusseia*. In hierdie studie van die *Aeneïs* is daar aanvanklik 450 dierespesies geïdentifiseer en, vanweë hierdie groot getal, is besluit op ‘n keuse van sewe spesies, naamlik die slang, leeu, takbok, wolf, duif, arend en uil, om in diepte bestudeer te word. Daarna is die voorkoms van die sewe spesies in Vergilius se teks in ooreenstemming met hul voorkoms in dié van Homeros noulettend gelees om die ontwikkeling in die literatuur van Vergilius te identifiseer. Terselfdertyd is die werke van Aristoleles se *Historia Animalium* en Plinius se *Naturalis Historia* geraadpleeg om die Griekse en Romeinse opvatting van die sewe spesies te ondersoek. Uit hierdie literatuur is daar nie net voldoende bewys van ‘n duidelike verband tussen diere en die epiese gevind nie, maar ook bewys van die vernuwing wat Vergilius in die epiese spektrum gemaak het, naamlik: 1) in vergelyking met sy voorgangers verskaf hy groter insig in die emosies en denkprosesse van diere; 2) sy beskrywing van die gedrag van die diere hou deurgaans verband met die normale gedrag van die diere volgens hul natuurgeskiedenis; 3) hy gebruik diere om konfliksituasies te verduidelik, soos konflik tussen die natuur en beskawing, tussen man en vrou en tussen vreemdelinge en inboorlinge, en 4) hy gebruik die Romeinse siening van sekere diere om hul unieke rol in die Romeinse mites en bygelowe te beklemtoon. Deur die bestudering van hierdie vier innoverende idees kan die verhandeling bydra tot nuwe insigte, nie net in die *Aeneïs* nie, maar ook in die rol van diere in die epos.

Acknowledgements

My thanks goes to the Harry Crossley Foundation for their generous funding without which this work would not have been possible. I would also like to thank my parents for their encouragement and support throughout the writing of this thesis. I would also like to thank Professor Johan Thom for his many useful and insightful suggestions. Finally, I would like to thank my PhD Supervisor, Doctor Annemarie de Villiers, whose assistance and guidance has been invaluable to me. I am eternally grateful to her for her comments and her patience, as well as her many hours spent in proofreading. Any faults remain my own.

Publio Vergilio Maroni,

ad aram genii tui procumbo

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

This introductory chapter is divided into seven sections, the first of which (1.1) addresses the question of why animals should be studied in the *Aeneid*. Section 1.2 entails a detailed literature review of modern animal-focused research in classical studies. This section examines animals in various spheres of classical antiquity, such as animals in everyday life, animals in natural history and literature. Section 1.3 pays attention to animals in the scientific works of Aristotle and Pliny the Elder, in particular to their treatment of the tiger and hippomanes. In section 1.4, I discuss the origin and role of animals in the epics of Homer and Hesiod, and in the Roman epics of Ennius and Lucretius, before turning my attention to Vergil's *Aeneid*. This section will show that there was a long tradition of epic animals from which Vergil freely adopted, as well as adapted to suit his particular needs. The *Aeneid*'s scholarly reception is addressed in section 1.5, which illustrates the various approaches put forward by scholars to uncover the epic's meaning and purpose. The penultimate section (1.6) argues that the *Aeneid* is engaged with addressing the Romans as a nation, and furthermore suggests that the epic's animal imagery aligns with this Roman-centred approach. The methodology employed in this study is outlined in section 1.7

1.1 Why study animals in the *Aeneid*?

Vergil's *Aeneid* is a fascinating and multi-layered work that served as the national epic of ancient Rome. Composed during the early years of Augustus' reign, it tells in twelve books the story of Aeneas' journey from Troy and his eventual arrival in Italy. When Propertius (50 – 16 BCE), a contemporary poet, heard a few lines of the *Aeneid*, he praised it in his second Book of *Elegiae* saying:

> Give way, Roman authors; give way, Greeks! Something greater than the *Iliad* is being born.[1]
>
> (*Eleg*.2.34.64-65)[2]

Servius, a 4th century CE grammarian and commentator, expressed a similar sentiment in his *In Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*, calling Vergil a 'divine poet' (Ziolkowski & Putnam 2008:468). The *Aeneid*, like the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* became a cornerstone of the Western canon as the words of the poet T.S. Elliot illustrate, calling the *Aeneid* 'Our classic, the classic for all Europe' (1945:70).

[1] All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.
[2] The Latin text of Propertius' *Carmen* 34, Book 2 of *Elegiae* comes from Ziolkowski & Putnam's *The Virgilian Tradition* (2008:13).

The *Aeneid* continued to enjoy popularity long after the end of the Roman Empire, and inspired many later works, such as Dante Alighieri's *Divine Comedy*, John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Henry Purcell's opera, *Dido and Aeneas*, and more recently *Lavinia*, a 2008 novel by Ursula Le Guin.

In as much as later authors were inspired by him, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* served to inspire Vergil in spite of Propertius' claims that the *Aeneid* is 'something greater.' Many of the epic conventions established in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, such as the use of epithets, extended similes and invoking the Muses, are also found in the *Aeneid*.[3] Other commonly discussed conventions of epic are a serious tone; a setting in the distant past; the presence of a hero, gods and supernatural characters, and plots centred on wars or quests (Martin 2005:10). The presence or absence of any such features, as Richard Martin remarks, should not be decisive in defining the genre (Martin 2005:10). Indeed, many works considered 'epic' lack some of these fundamental generic markers. The gods, for instance, play no role in Lucan's *Civil War*. Likewise, the role of the hero in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is hard to define, and the tone is not entirely serious. In contrast, scholars like Laura Hawtree, have drawn attention to another feature of epic that is not considered an essential element of the genre, and subsequently has been overlooked in the more traditional definition. She points out that animals feature in every classical epic (2014:73).[4] The first book of the *Iliad* contains 18 references to animals (Hawtree 2014:73). Similarly there are 21 references to animals in the first book of the *Aeneid*.[5] Since it appears that animal imagery features as a common denominator in all classical epics, examining this imagery could lead to new insights into these works.

[3] In chapters 23 and 24 of his *Poetics*, Aristotle elaborates on the essential elements of epic. He bases his definition of epic on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

[4] The *Metamorphoses* and *Civil War* do, however, refer to animals. In the case of the *Metamorphoses* animals play such a pivotal role that they provide the structure of the epic (Hawtree 2014:73). Although Hawtree's definition allows for less conventional epics such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Lucan's *Civil War* to be included under the label of classical epic, this in no way disregards the epics of Homer and Vergil.

[5] Bees (*Aen*.1.430; 435), swans (*Aen*.1.393), eagles (*Aen*.1.394), deer (*Aen*.1.184; 185), wild boars (*Aen*.1.324), wolves (*Aen*.1.275), lynxes (*Aen*.1.323), unnamed wild animals (*Aen*.1.308), bulls (*Aen*.1.368, 1.634), horses (*Aen*.1.316, 1.444, 1.472, 1.476, 1.568, 1.752), sheep (*Aen*.1.635), pigs (*Aen*.1.634) and nonspecific domestic animals (*Aen*.1.743).

1.2 Modern Scholarship on Animals in Classical Studies: a literature review

The significance of animals within the classical world has sparked a great deal of scholarly interest in recent years and numerous studies dealing with them have been published. These studies have investigated animals in various spheres and sectors of classical antiquity, and can be roughly divided into 4 categories: 1.2.1 general studies on animals in the classical world, 1.2.2 animals in everyday life (including agriculture, religion and warfare), 1.2.3 animals in natural history and philosophy and 1.2.4 animals in literature.

1.2.1 General Studies on Animals in the Classical World

Recently a number of books have been published that offer a broad overview of animals in antiquity. Barbro Frizell's *Pecus: Man and Animal in Antiquity* (2004) is an excellent publication as it thoroughly explores the nature of human-animal relationships not only in the Roman world but also in the Minoan and Etruscan civilisations. Linda Kalof's recent book *Looking at Animals in Human History* (2007) covers a vast timeframe as she examines animals in prehistory, antiquity, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and the contemporary age. A section of the second chapter of her book is dedicated to Roman animal-spectacles in which Kalof argues that the emperors desired to make the games they hosted more and more extravagant, leading to the wide scale slaughtering of animals so as to appease the crowds (2007:27).

On a related topic, Louise Calder's book *Cruelty and Sentimentality* (2011) examines the attitudes held by ancient Greeks from 600-300 BCE towards domestic animals. Her study is impressively insightful as she relies not only on textual but also on archaeological, medical and zoological evidence. The chapters of her book are arranged according to animal-types which she thoroughly investigates from multiple perspectives, and in the final chapter she gives a largely philosophical discussion of how the ancient Greeks viewed domestic animals, and their use and treatment of them. The recent *Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, edited by Gordon Campbell (2014), is encyclopaedic in its scope. The number of topics that are dealt with indicate how diverse animal-focused research in the classical world is; some of the more general chapters include 'Ancient Fishing and Fish Farming', 'Spectacles of Animal Abuse', 'Ancient Fossil Discoveries and Interpretations' and 'Veterinary Medicine.'

1.2.2 Animals in Everyday Life (including agriculture, religion and warfare)

Working animals

'Did Rome Fall for Lack of a Horse Collar?' is the title of a 1927 article by Marjorie MacDill, in which she poses the question why the Romans never thought of inventing a horse collar (1927:245). She begins by investigating the types of harnesses that was used by the ancient Greeks and Romans, and discovers that because of the harness' design, the weight of the load pressed directly on the animal's windpipe, and as a result of this, the full motive power of the animal (horse or ox) was not utilised. This flaw in design, MacDill argues may have been an important factor in Rome's eventual downfall. Staying with horses, the breeds of horses used by the ancient Greeks is the topic of a more recent study by Mark Griffith (2006). He examines what techniques were used by the Greeks to train horses and how horses were employed in agriculture and warfare. Willekes has also dealt with horses in her recent book *The Horse in the Ancient World* (2016). She examines how horses were domesticated in the 4th millennium BCE, and furthermore draws attention to the enormous impact this had on the development of warfare.

Leaving horses aside, some scholars have paid attention to other farm animals such as cattle. In his book *The Cattle of the Sun* (2010), Jeremy McInerney traces the history of cattle domestication, and investigates their later use in the economy of Bronze Age Greece, as well as their symbolic value in mythology. The importance of sheep and the wool trade in Roman Italy is the subject of a 1984 book by Joan Frayn. The opening chapters examine sheep breeds, sheep-rearing, shepherds and dairy production. In the last two chapters, Frayn considers the importance of the wool trade and its effects on the economy of the empire. Michael MacKinnon has also made the focus of his 2004 article sheep, but goats are also included. His study is particularly useful as it combines archaeological material and textual evidence. Three years earlier, the same author critically examined the roles of pigs in ancient Rome, in 'High on the Hog' (2001). MacKinnon identifies that there were at least two different breeds of pigs—'a large, fat short-legged variety and a small, bristled, long-legged variety' (2001:649). Based on zooarchaelogical evidence, Mackinnon argues that the smaller breed was predominately used as a source of meat in the Roman diet, while the larger breed because of its stature was prized as a symbol of wealth. The role of the domestic honeybee is the theme of *Bee*, a 2006 book by Claire Preston. Her publication offers an in-depth look at bees, covering biology, domestication, honey, and bees' influence on mythology and culture.

Pets

Pet keeping and household animals are as popular as ever, and according to a recent book by Jonathan Last (2013), 'pets now outnumber children four to one in American households.' This is not a modern phenomenon as Francis Lazenby demonstrated in an originative article in 1949. According to Lazenby, dogs were the favourite choice of pet in the ancient Mediterranean, especially the small Melitaean lap-dog which came from North Africa (1949a:246). Lazenby argues that there was clearly a great deal of affection between master and dog as, in many cases, no cost was spared to depict the beloved pet on the death stelae of its master (1949a:246). Besides dogs, Lazenby also examines more exotic pets such as snakes, ravens, pigeons, peacocks, hares, weasels and fawns.

Keith Bradley has more recently also drawn attention to the deep affection between dog and master in his 1998 article 'The Sentimental Education of the Roman Child.' Bradley looks at pets and children, and specifically at the relationship between Aemilia Tertia, the daughter of Aemilius Paulus, and her pet dog Persa (1998:538). Pet cats in Roman households are the subject of a 1999 book by Malcolm Donaldson. He discusses the Roman fascination with the cat's more well-known role in ancient Egypt and examines the literary and artistic evidence of the presence of cats throughout the Roman world. He hypothesises as to the cat's role in religion and mythology.

In a more recent revelatory book, *Classical Cats* (2001), Donald Engels makes the case that cats were distributed across Europe by seafaring Greek merchants and colonisers who employed them to protect their grain supplies. He also argues, based on Latin inscriptions, mosaics and sculptures, that cats were more popular among the dog-loving Romans than was previously thought. 2001 also saw the publication of an important study about the origins of dogs, *Dogs in Antiquity*: *Anubis to Cerberus* by Douglas Brewer, Terence Clark and Adrian Phillips. The first chapter of their book summarises the complexities of the genetic evidence linking dogs to wolves, the later chapters discuss the morphological and behavioural characteristics of ancient and modern dog breeds. Kenneth Kitchell treats the reception of dogs in ancient Greece in 'Man's best friend?', a chapter in Frizell's *Pecus* (2004). Kitchell argues that, based on Homeric works, the early Greeks had mixed feelings about dogs, but that by the time of the polis, dogs had become an essential part of civilised life.

Hunting

Hunting, once a necessity for survival, had ceased to play this basic role in the classical world, however, as a practical skill, pastime and cultural activity it retained a prominent position in both ancient Greece and Rome, and consequently has sparked a great deal of scholarship. 'Did the Romans Hunt?' is the title and research question of a 1996 article by Cairn Green. The question may seem redundant; however, he points out that some scholars have argued that until the time of Scipio Aemilianus, the Romans disapproved of hunting (Green 1996:222). Green makes compelling arguments against this notion, arguing that it arose in the 19th century out of 'a misreading of Polybius and a biased reading of Sallust' (1996:258). The Romans, quite on the contrary, according to Green, enjoyed hunting from an early period as is evidenced by skeletal remains discovered in excavations throughout Latium (1996:229).

Judith Barringer's *The Hunt in Ancient Greece* (2001) clearly outlays the importance of hunting in ancient Greek society. The opening chapters give an excellent overview of the various techniques that were used in the training of hunting dogs, and of the different types of animals that were hunted. The penultimate chapter examines hunting and myth, specifically looking at the roles of 'heroic hunters' such as Hercules and the 'followers of Artemis', the goddess of the hunt (2001:125). In the final chapter, Barringer takes a close look at the use of hunting imagery in funerary contexts, and based upon her findings, she argues that there are strong metaphorical connections between hunting, war, and death (2001:174). Closely linked with hunting is fishing, which Thomas Corcoran has touched on in a 1964 article. Corcoran examines what methods and what types of fish were caught, by exploring treatises on fish from the early Roman Empire.

Entertainment

Gladiatorial combat is perhaps the best-known example of public entertainment offered in ancient Rome, but wild and domestic animals also featured as part of these extravagant pageants. George Jennison's *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*, although published in 1936, remains an authoritative work on the subject. Jennison's book is based entirely on primary sources and infused with his personal experience with many of the animals discussed as he was superintendent of the Belle Vue Zoological gardens in Manchester. Jennison provides an evocative and in-depth history of which animals were captured for the arena, from what places they were obtained, and the practicalities of capturing and transporting them to be displayed in the arena.

The capture and transportation of animals for the arena has chiefly been examined from the point of view of the destination; however, the impact this had on the places where these animals were captured is the subject of a 1992 article by David Bomgardner. He looks specifically at North Africa and examines the impact on native animal populations, such as that of the Barbary Lion, which was depleted on account of the enormous scale of their capturing and transportation to amphitheatres and circuses in Italy (1992:161). Bomgardner shows that by the late 4th century CE, such animals were becoming increasingly difficult to find which resulted in a dramatic change as animals were no longer slaughtered wholesale, but were kept alive for return performances (1992:161).

Christopher Epplett in a 2001 article devotes his attention to the means by which wild animals were captured and shipped to the arenas in Rome and elsewhere. Epplett offers an intriguing look into this as he examines epigraphic and papyrological evidence to draw attention to the important role of the Roman imperial army in capturing animals for the spectacles (2001b:210). Epplett explains how the army was directly involved as some troops could be assigned as *vestigiatores* (trackers) to capture various beasts, while other members of the military could be charged with looking after them once they had been caught (2001b:220). The epigraphical evidence surveyed by Epplett shows just how widespread the army's involvement was as the inscriptions left by troops tasked with animal-capturing and -care stretch from northern Britain to the Euphrates (2001b:220). More recently, Michael MacKinnon has focused on the treatment of animals that were captured for the games (2006). He argues that many animals died in the process of being captured, and that once captured, disease and malnutrition ensured that many never made it to Rome (2006:21). MacKinnon recognises that these negative aspects are often missing in ancient sources, but argues that the lack of zooarchealogical evidence and faunal remains support the argument that many animals did not survive capture and transportation (2006:21).

When not destined for the arena, wild animals were captured for other purposes. In 1943, Jacob Hammer discussed the training of wild animals. He pays particular attention to the taming of elephants and suggests that, because the Romans were well aware of their intelligence, elephants were by far the most numerous among non-domestic trained beasts (1943:59). Hammer bases his findings on textual sources, and highlights certain memorable examples, such as when in 46 BCE, 40 elephants were employed to act as torch-bearers in Caesar's nightly procession to the Capitol or Seneca's account of four elephants walking a rope (1943:59).

Religion and myth

In the Greco-Roman world animals played a number of important roles in religion. In religious practices they could be sacrificed to honour the gods or killed so that their entrails may reveal the future. Besides their importance in rituals, animals also had significance in mythology where they often came to be seen as symbolic. Arthur Cook (1895) examines the roles of bees in Greek mythology. He pays particular attention to Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus* which describes how as an infant Zeus was fed on honey and nursed by bees (1895:3).

Dogs and the superstitions about them is the subject of a study by Eli Burriss (1935). Burris argues from textual sources and effectively illustrates how the blood, gall-bladder, and teeth of dogs were used in witchcraft in the Roman world. The origin of the she-wolf who suckled Romulus and Remus and the accompanying Lupercalia festival has been treated by A Hollemann (1985). He argues that in the word *lupus* (wolf) the *p* is un-Latin, and suggests that it might be derived from the Etruscan *lupu* (to be dead) (1985:609). Death and wolves have a close connection as Aita, the Etruscan god of the dead wears a wolf's head. This, Hollemann suggests, proves an Etruscan origin because long after the Etruscans, the *luperci* still wore wolves' heads as they ran around the Palatine hill during the Lupercalia (1985:610).

The sacrifice of bulls is covered by Britt-Marie Näsström in Frizell's *Pecus*. She looks particularly at the iconography of Mithraism, which often depicts Mithras with his left knee forcing down a bull as he seizes its nostrils and stabs its shoulder (2004:198). Näsström argues that in mysteries of Mithraism, the sacrifice of the bull symbolises the 'salvation for mankind' as its blood served to benefit humanity (2004:198). More recently, Gregory Aldrete has also dealt with animal sacrifices in ancient Roman religion (2014). He draws attention to the practical challenges of animal sacrifices that are often overlooked as modern scholars have tended to focus on the symbolic aspects of these rituals. Aldrete draws upon ancient sculpture, comparative historical sources, and animal physiology to show exactly what methods and implements (hammers and axes) were used in these rituals.

In the same year as Aldrete's study, Peter Struck contributed a chapter on 'Animals and Divination' to Campbell's *Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*. Struck illustrates that divination was a common practice to both the ancient Greeks, who called it μαντικὴ ('prophecy') and the Romans, who used the term *divinatio* ('foresight') (2014:310). He illustrates how important the flight of birds, especially birds of prey, was in divination, as the flight

of their path and the cries they make may reveal divine approval or disapproval (Struck 2014:312). Struck also draws attention to a more grisly aspect of divination, haruspicy, which entailed the reading of the sacrificed animal's entrails, particularly the liver. Arguing from Cicero's *De divinatione*, Struck points out that at the moment the animal was sacrificed, the gods 'placed a stamp on the entrails' which the haruspex could then correctly 'read' to divine the outcome of future events (2014:318).

1.2.3 Animals in Natural History and Philosophy

Natural histories and philosophical works offer an unparalleled insight into what the Greeks and Romans knew about the habits, behaviour and intellectual capacity of animals. This has sparked a great deal of interest among modern scholars who have chiefly examined Aristotle's *History of Animals* and Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* since these two works offer such a wide array of information. Aristotle's role as a natural scientist and the contributions he made to biology are no longer generally acknowledged because, as Wolfgang Kullmann points out, in science there is always progress and the detailed scientific contributions of Aristotle are assumed to be obsolete (1991:137). Kullmann argues that this assumption is incorrect as Aristotle correctly observed that animal 'embryonic development consists of a series of successive formations of organs' and it was not until molecular biology developed after the Second World War that Aristotle's observation of embryology was proved correct (1991:147-148).

More recently Aristotle's contribution as a scientist has been recognised in a book by Allan Gotthelf (2012). In the second last chapter of the book, Gotthelf makes a close study of the method by which Aristotle, in the *History of Animals*, organises and categorises each animal into a defined species, allowing for a systematic investigation into the character, specification and nature of the animals examined. The final chapter explores the influence Aristotle had on Charles Darwin and his theory of evolution.

Other authors have been interested in Aristotle's opinions about the emotional capabilities of animals. In a 1971 article, William Fortenbaugh explores this issue by investigating the Ninth Book of Aristotle's *History of Animals* which describes animals in very human terms (1971:151). Fortenbaugh illustrates that Aristotle recognised that animals, like humans, can experience a host of emotions, such as fear; they can cause other animals to frighten or be frightened in turn (1971:153). Like humans, animals can also exhibit 'moral virtue' such as confidence, compassion

and gentleness, and more astounding, animals are even capable of forming friendships (1971:153).

The social capacities of animals such as bees and ants is the subject of an article by David Depew (1995). He examines what Aristotle says about 'social insects' and shows that Aristotle recognised that such insects, like humans, form societies because they hold 'one common work for all' (1995:156).

Juha Sihvola (1996) has also remarked on the social and emotional and aspects of animals. He recounts a story from Book 8 of Aristotle's *History of Animals* which tells how a dolphin attempted to save the body of a little dead dolphin, doing so as if out of pity (1996:121).

On Aristotle's treatment of specific animals, there have also been a number of studies. In 1930 William Forbes wrote an article about the silkworm in Aristotle's *History of Animals*. Forbes remarks that Aristotle is not referring to the more famous Chinese silkworm as he describes it coming from Cos and says that its silk is 'combed out' rather than 'reeled off' as with the Chinese silkworm (1930:22). Forbes argues that the silkworm in question may in fact refer to two silkworm species found in South-eastern Europe which Aristotle observed (1930:25).

A remarkable paper was published in 1955 by J. Haldene which examines Aristotle's remarks about the 'dance of honey bees' (1955:24). What makes this so remarkable is that Aristotle's observations were in fact correct and that his discovery predates Karl von Frisch, the renowned Austrian ethologist, who observed the same phenomenon and concluded that the 'dance' of bees is a means of communication (Haldene 1955:24). More recently J. Bigwood has researched Aristotle's knowledge about elephants in 'Aristotle and the Elephant Again', a paper published in 1993. Bigwood highlights the remarkable accuracy of Aristotle's knowledge about elephants; for example, he gives a vivid description of the elephant's physical attributes, mating habits, period of gestation and lifespan (1993:544).

In a more recent paper on Aristotle and another classical author, Liliane Bodson (1983) has surveyed what opinions were held about animals in the Greco-Roman world. She bases her argument on the works of Aristotle and authors such as Plato, Plutarch, Cicero and Pliny the Elder. She argues that the original bond between humans and animals was chiefly based on economic needs but with the development of philosophy questions about the intellectual capacity of animals, emotional responses and animal welfare began to be raised (Bodson 1983:312). She cites an episode from Aristotle's *History of Animals* which illustrates that humanitarianism towards

animals was a concern. The episode (*Hist*.*Anim*.6.24.577b-578a) recounts a story of a mule that had been set free on account of its age, but continued to work side by side with other draught animals in the building of the Parthenon; as a consequence the Athenians honoured the mule by passing a law forbidding any baker from chasing it away from his bread-table (Bodson 1983:317).

Among Latin authors, Pliny the Elder ranks high as an encyclopaedist whose *Natural History* contains 37 books and covers such topics as astronomy, mathematics, geography, painting, precious stones and animals. Pliny's take on the influence human beings have on the environment is the subject of a 1990 paper by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill. He argues that Pliny accuses man of 'abusing' nature by contrasting animals that use their natural weapons (tusks) and mankind who uses poisons to coat weapons (1990:85).

Roman Nature: The Thought of Pliny the Elder published in 1992 by Mary Beagon examines Pliny's opinion on the relationship between humankind and nature, and mankind's place in it. In chapter 4, 'Man and the Animals' Beagon discusses the ambivalent attitude of the Romans towards animals which combined admiration with a thirst to see vast numbers of them killed in the arena (1992:147). She argues that the books dedicated to animals (*Nat*.*Hist*.8-11) are intended to exhibit the wonders of nature so as to emphasise nature's *potentia* ('power') and *varietas* ('diversity'), and show that mankind is nature's greatest creation (Beagon 1992:131,124).

Other authors have investigated specific animals in Pliny's *Natural History*. In an article about the *Testamentum Porcelli* ('The Piglet's Will'), Edward Champlin (1987) examines Pliny's description of pigs' intelligence and their importance as a staple meat in Rome (1987:174).[6] Italo Ronca analyses Pliny's description of the reported inbreeding between lions and leopards on account of the arid African climate (1994:570). Taking a more historical approach, Trevor Murphy examines the close connection between Pliny's *Natural History* and Rome. He argues that Pliny has the tendency not only to describe exotic animals such as lions, tigers, elephants and leopards but also to specify when they first appeared in Rome (Murphy 2004:161). Murphy suggests that Pliny did this to emphasise the military might of Rome as returning emperors and generals would often bring with them exotic animals to display in the circus (2004:162). Murphy cites the examples of

[6] The *Testamentum Porcelli* (4th century CE) is the supposed will of the piglet, Marcus Grunnius Corocotta, which he composed an hour before he was to be killed for a banquet. The author of the Piglet's Will is unknown but the piece was beloved by schoolboys, and according to Jerome (*Contra Rufinum* 1.17) 'classes of schoolboys burst into fits of laughter at reading it.'

Pompey the Great who displayed the first rhinoceros in Rome and Julius Caesar who exhibited the first giraffe seen in Rome (2004:162).

More recently Thorsten Fögen has looked at Pliny's description of elephants and birds (2007). Fögen remarks that Pliny's description of elephants accords them an almost human status, and even more remarkable, Pliny attributes elephants with 'moral qualities' that are usually only reserved for human beings (2007:186). Birds are also held in high regard as the story of a tame raven illustrates. This raven, Pliny tells, had the habit of flying to the forum and greeting Tiberius; when it was killed the Roman citizens became infuriated, the perpetrator in turn was killed, and a public funeral was held to commemorate the raven (Fögen 2007:191).

In a chapter of Morello and Gibson's 2011 book, *Pliny the Elder: Themes and Context*, Rhiannon Ash examines Pliny's opinions on 'warfare' in the animal kingdom (2011:15). She remarks that Pliny embeds the notion of warfare in his description of animals, for like humans, animals also fight among themselves (2011:15). Ash looks at two instances of animal-warfare in the *Natural History*, bees and mongooses. Pliny describes how bees attack a neighbouring hive because of a lack of food, but as Ash points out, Pliny 'humanises the bees since he portrays them as fighting in battle formation and under commanders' (2011:16). Likewise Pliny's description of a mongoose attacking its opponent also calls to mind the image of a soldier; the mongoose makes a 'cuirass of mud' and feigns retreating only to then strike its opponent at the right moment (Ash 2011:16).

In addition to the natural histories of Aristotle and Pliny the Elder, scholars have also investigated what opinions and attitudes towards animals were held by various ancient philosophical schools. Stephen Newmyer is a prominent scholar in this field and has published four major works. In 1997 he published 'Just Beasts?', a paper which dealt with the moral capabilities of animals in the works of Plutarch. Newmyer focuses chiefly on Plutarch's *On the Cleverness of Animals* which deals with the question of animal intelligence. In an early part of the treatise Plutarch convincingly argues that 'punishing a dog or horse with the intention of producing in them a sense of repentance would be pointless if such animals could not reflect rationally on the purpose of chastisement' (1997:85). Throughout the article Newmyer illustrates how the modern controversy on the moral status of animals is already present in Plutarch's work.

In a more recent paper (2003), Newmyer addresses the question of the religious sensibilities of animals in a number of ancient authors. Newmyer suggests that it was primarily the philosophers, such as Plato, Aristotle and Xenophon who were against the proposition that animals are capable

of exhibiting religious sensibilities, but that in treatises dealing with 'animal psychology' the opposite possibility was raised (2003:116). To illustrate his point, Newmyer turns to Plutarch's account of elephants expressing religious behaviour in *On the Cleverness of Animals*. Plutarch begins by remarking that 'all animals partake to some degree of reason and intellect' and then immediately follows up this observation with a claim made earlier by Juba II of Mauretania, that 'elephants worship the gods, purifying themselves in the sea and raising their trunks to the rising sun' (2003:124). Newmyer remarks that Plutarch's quick succession between the observation and claim suggests that there is an intimate link between intelligence, reason and religious sensibilities (2003:123).

In 2011 Newmyer penned *Animals in Greek and Roman Thought*, an encyclopaedic compendium of ancient sources on animals. The book is divided into a number of sections which deal with a variety of animal related topics such as 'The Language of Animals', followed then by the translated text of ancient authors such as Diogenes Laertius, Philo of Alexandria, Sextus Empiricus and Porphyry (2011:viii). More recently Newmyer has contributed a chapter on 'Animals in Ancient Philosophical Schools' to Campbell's *Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life* (2014). In his chapter, Newmyer begins with pre-philosophical ideas about animals before moving on to pre-Socratic philosophers such as Empedocles and later Hellenistic philosophical schools such as the Stoics and Epicureans. He argues that pre-Socratic philosophers held that 'all creation is one, endowed with intellectual and physiological components that differ only in degree from species to species', but that under the later influences of Stoicism which denied such unity, animals were seen as separate and inferior to humans (Newmyer 2014:531). Newmyer remarks that in the second half of the twentieth century, the idea that humans and animals are separate, with its Stoic roots, began to change, thanks to animal-rights movements, and that human thought once again looked back to the unity of species espoused by the pre-Socratic philosophers (2014:532).

1.2.4 Animals in Literature

The extensive appearance of animals in Greek and Latin literature has not gone unnoticed by classical scholars and as a consequence a number of studies have been published on this topic. In the realm of Greek poetry, Homer has been the main focus for animal-specific research. An early study on Homer's use of bird similes, metaphors and imagery was made by J. Boraston in 1911. In his article, Boraston offers an interpretation of each bird-appearance in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and in addition to this, he systematically categorizes the various species of birds that feature. The role of fish in Homer has been addressed by Frederick Combellack in his article, 'Homer's Savage Fish' (1953). He draws attention to the familiarity Homer must have had with the use of fish as food and the various means of catching them. However, Combellack remarks that the heroes of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had such a low opinion of fish as food that they would only eat it as a last resort to avoid starvation.

Using passages from the *Iliad* 1.209 and 22.263 as well as Strato's *Musa puerilis* epigram to support his argument, Georg Luck has attempted to shed light on Callimachus' twelfth *Iambus*; more specifically line 70, 'and let the rapacious wolves delight in the kids' (1959:34). He suggests that this line clearly has sexual overtones, as Callimachus alludes to himself as one of the 'wolves' while the 'kids' stands for 'a boy whose beard has just began to grow' (Luck 1959:35). The often close interaction between Odysseus and dogs, especially his own dog, Argus is the subject of a 1961 paper by J. Hainsworth. Hainsworth examines how Odysseus uses 'tricks and guile' to 'tame' dogs that at first are hostile, but eventually wins them over (1961:123).

Four years after Hainsworth's paper, G. Devereux attempted to resolve a long standing issue surrounding the meaning of ἡμιόνων γένος ἀγροτεράων ('the race of wild she-mules') of the *Iliad* 2.852. Scholars debated whether the she-mules in question refer to 'domestic mules or some other wild equid' (Devereux 1965:29). Devereux argues that wild mules were not native to the Troad as they were only introduced much later by Pharnaces II of Phrygia (1965:30). Based on his findings, Devereux concludes that Homer's wild she-mules must rather refer to domestic mules that are 'unbroken' and 'range' freely (1965:32).

On a more spiritual level, James Ogilvy has examined Homer's use of animals as omens in the *Iliad* (1972:50). He looks especially at the snake, that devoured eight sparrows and their mother (*Iliad*.2.308-319), and the eagle sent by Zeus to reassure the Greeks (*Iliad*.8.247-250) in his discussion of the topic (1972:50).

After more than a decade's silence on the topic of animals in Homer, Stephen Lonsdale published an important work (1990) on the roles of lions in the *Iliad*. He argues that lions play a prominent role in the text of the *Iliad* on both narrative and metaphoric levels (Lonsdale 1990:5). Lonsdale suggests that on one level the lion is essentially identical with the war-hero, Achilles, while in similes the lion acts as a marauder and is a threat to livestock, other animals and hunters. In a similar vein, Justin Glenn has also examined the roles of lions in the *Odyssey* (1998). He questions why Homer would employ a lion simile at *Odyssey* 6.130-136, where Odysseus confronts Nausicaa, since the lion simile has martial connotations (1998:116). Glenn argues that Homer has cleverly crafted the lion simile to stress the 'temptation for amorous aggression' that occurs when Odysseus first meets the beautiful Nausicaa (1998:116). Lion similes have also attracted the attention of Maureen Alden, who argues that Homer's depiction of lions was influenced by Near Eastern accounts of royal lion hunts (2005:342). In the same year as Alden's paper, Eleni Voultsiadou and Apostolos Tatolas published an article in which they give an overview of the types of animals that appear in archaic Greek epics (Homer, Hesiod and the *Homeric hymns*). They found that the types of animals which appear tend to be those involved with human activities such as husbandry, hunting and religion (2005:1875).

More recently, Sebastiaan van der Mije has turned his attention to the snake simile of *Iliad* 22.92-97 (2011). In this simile, Hector is compared to a snake at its hole, which van der Mije suggests indicates that Hector has 'ambivalent feelings' about his decision to wait for Achilles outside the walls of Troy, because he is aware that he will most likely die at Achilles' hands (2011:359). In 2012 Karin Johansson published *The Birds of the Iliad* in which she makes a thorough analysis of bird imagery. She focuses on 35 bird scenes and identifies a variety of species such as eagles, vultures and doves, before exploring what poetic functions they serve in the *Iliad* (Johansson 2011:5).

The most complete study of animals in Homer's oeuvre has been undertaken by Tua Korhonen and Erika Ruonakoski (2017). Their extensive study is invaluable and offers new insight into the roles and functions of animals in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Despite the strong Homeric angle, there have been a number of animal-focused studies within the field of classical literature which have looked at Latin works in general, and at the *Aeneid* in particular. An early study on Vergil's use of similes was made by Eliza Wilkins in 1921. She examines both the *Aeneid* and *Georgics* and classifies the similes according to subjects such as 'Similes drawn from Natural Phenomena', 'Similes drawn from the Vegetable World' and 'Similes drawn from the Animal Kingdom' (Wilkins 1921:171-172). Wilkins, however, does not analyse the imagery or give a thematic overview of it.

Some scholars have focused on specific animals in the *Aeneid* and their potential symbolic meaning. One of the most prominent of these scholars is Bernard Knox, who in 1950 published 'The Serpent and the Flame'. Knox argues that the 'image of the serpent dominates Book 2' and carries with it connotations of 'violence and concealment' (1950:379). A few years later, Van Johnson wrote an intriguing article (1959) about the white sow and her thirty piglets, which appear three times in the *Aeneid* 3.390-394, 8.43-46 and 8.81-85. Van Johnson argues that there is strong symbolism behind the white sow, which he suggests refers to Juno, and her litter of thirty, which he argues does not refer to the thirty years interval between Aeneas' landing and the founding of Alba Longa, but rather to the thirty days of the 'primitive Roman month' (1959:21).

William Nethercut published a paper in 1972 which also addressed the snake of Book 2. He argues that the *Aeneid* is 'an ambivalent work' and supports his reading by arguing that Vergil's depiction of the snake in Book 2 'characterises it as evil and treacherous' (1972:123). Nethercut argues that the snake reappears in Book 12 in the form of *Dira* ('the Dreadful one') when she swoops down to drive Turnus to his death, which confirms the snakes' negative characterisation in Book 2 (1972:133). Also focusing on negative characterisation, Carolyn Breen has shed new light on the wolf-Turnus simile in *Aeneid* 9.59-66, by suggesting that the wolf-Turnus simile is 'a subtle adaption' of an episode in the myth of Danaus, who laid claim to the throne of Argos because of the portentous appearance of a 'marauding wolf' (1986:63).

Others scholars have examined animals in conjunction with particular themes and imagery in the *Aeneid*. One such scholar is William Anderson whose 1968 paper re-examines Aeneas' role as *pastor* ('shepherd'). He focuses on a scene in Book 12.587-592 which likens Aeneas to a shepherd driving out bees from their hive with smoke (1968:11). Anderson argues that *pastor* Aeneas' attack, which results in disorder and chaos for the bees, is in stark contradiction to the 'order he hopes to bring' and this suggests that Aeneas' actions here and earlier in the epic have negative consequences (1968:11).

A similar focus on the dire consequences of an apparently trivial act may be found in Eugene Vance's 1981 article 'Sylvia's Pet Stag', in which he examines the war that erupts between the Trojans and Latins (1981:127). Vance draws attention to the 'seemingly minor' event of Ascanius accidently killing Sylvia's pet stag (*Aen*.7.483-492), and questions why Vergil chose this event as the casus belli (1981:127). Vance suggests that this episode best illustrates Vergil's manipulation of the conflict between 'foreigner and native', and by extension, the conflict between 'civilisation and nature' (1981:127).

The Sylvia's stag episode is also examined by Raymond Starr, who addresses Ascanius' culpability in the killing of the tame stag (1992:435). Starr argues chiefly from texts by Gaius, and suggests that 'legally' Ascanius is guilty of 'damaging another's property', however in his defence he had no knowledge that 'the stag was tame' (1992:438-439). In this scene Ascanius 'unintentionally causes pain', which Starr remarks likens him to his father Aeneas, who also unintentionally leaves pain in his wake (1992:439).

A theme closely allied to that of Sylvia's stag is hunting. In 'Aeneas' First Act: 1.180-194' published in 1990, Gregory Staley examines the importance of the Aeneas' deer hunt in Book 1. He argues that this scene recurs later in various forms to accentuate 'important turning points': Aeneas' 'wounding' of Dido, Ascanius' killing of Sylvia's stag, and Aeneas' final battle with Turnus (1990:25).

More recently, the 'injured deer motif' has been addressed by M Thornton (1996:389). Thornton suggests that it cannot be a coincidence that the two obstacles to Aeneas' fulfilment of his quest are compared to deer: Dido in Book 4 and Turnus in Book 12 (1996:393). Thornton argues that by doing so, Vergil ensures that in spite of Dido's and Turnus' faults, the reader is encouraged to sympathise with them as if they were 'wounded deer' (1996:393).

William Anderson (2006) has examined the hunting scenes in Books 4 (the hunt of Dido and Aeneas) and 7 (the killing of Sylvia's stag) and argues that they inspired several mosaics such as the 'Mosaic from Low Ham', which was discovered in 1945 at the remains of a villa in Somerset, and a mosaic discovered in 1995 at a villa belonging to Herodes Atticus in Greece (2006:157).

In a more recent article, 'The Deer Hunter: A Portrait of Aeneas' (2013), Annemarie de Villiers has examined recurring instances of Aeneas hunting deer, which she suggests show 'an increasing lack of feeling in his character' as the story progresses (2013:47). This 'gradual

desensitisation of Aeneas' reaches its climax in Book 12 when he kills Turnus, and this 'final act', de Villiers remarks, divests Aeneas of his claims of *pietas* (2013:47).

Together with the above-mentioned studies, two scholars deserve special mention as their research has contributed considerably to my own study: Viola Stephens who published 'Like a Wolf on the Fold: Animal Imagery in Vergil' in 1990 and Laura Hawtree who wrote a dissertation on wild animals in Roman epic in 2011 and contributed a chapter on 'Animals in Epic' to Campbell's 2014 book. Stephens uses hunting as her point of departure, and investigates the role of predatory animals and the beasts they hunt in concert with allusions to 'human hunters' and 'human prey' (1990:107-108). Her argument is that Vergil used the predator-prey association to express a perception of humankind as essentially flawed and responsible for its own suffering. Stephens, however, admits that she does not include certain animals as they have no part in her discussion: for example, she makes no mention of the references to bees (*Aen.*1.430), snakes (*Aen.*2.225), and swans (*Aen.*1.393).

In her 2011 dissertation, Hawtree examines how Roman epic authors, such as Vergil, Lucan, Ovid and Statius, used, adapted and created new wild animal representations in their respective epics (2011:1). In doing so, she traces the development of epic wild animals from the works of Homer to Roman epics and illustrates how Roman epicits tailored their wild animal imagery to express beliefs and ideas that were particular to Rome. Her 2014 chapter expands on her dissertation. In it she examines a wider spectrum and includes non-wild animals (2014:73). She calls attention to the extensive use of animals in classical epic and argues that their numerous appearances in epics demand that they should be more closely examined than has been the case in the past. My own work differs from Hawtree's in several ways. Where she examined a number of Latin epics, I concentrated solely on the *Aeneid*'s animals. This *Aeneid*-centred approach allowed for not only a thematic interpretation of the epic's animals but also highlighted Vergil's innovations and contributions to the epic repertoire of animal imagery.

As the discussion above has illustrated, there is a growing interest among classical scholars in animals as worthy topics of study. Some of the studies mentioned above have concentrated on the roles of animals in the daily functioning of the Greco-Roman world, while others have researched the depictions of animals in philosophical and literary accounts. Although I shall not attempt to integrate the multitude of findings these diverse studies have generated, my work does offer an in-depth textual examination of the animal imagery of seven species in the *Aeneid* and attempts to situate them within the wider background of literary and cultural influences. It is my

hypothesis that this approach will lead to new insight into the use of animal reference in the *Aeneid*.

1.3 Animals outside Classical Epics: Aristotle and Pliny the Elder

The *Aeneid* offers some insight into the perception of animals in the Roman world, but by considering the epic's animal imagery within the context of other sources, a deeper understanding emerges of how Vergil manipulated animal images in the *Aeneid*. Scientific works such as Aristotle' *History of Animals* and Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* ground epic animals in the cultural beliefs of the day and are thus helpful in illustrating why Vergil treated animals in the way that he did. Whereas in the *Aeneid* animals are often restricted to similes and metaphors, or serve to drive the plot, the less restrictive works of Aristotle and Pliny provide a broader scope of information about animals, and so make it easier to identify Vergil's innovations.

Perhaps Vergil's most striking innovation, is the addition of the tiger, which was wholly unknown in the Homeric world, and was seen in Athens for the first time in the 4th century BCE, when Seleucus I sent one as a gift to the city (Toynbee 1973:70).[7] The tiger is also absent from Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* (ca. 3rd century BCE) nor does it feature in the Latin epics of Ennius (239 – 169 BCE) and Lucretius (94 – 55 BCE).[8] The tiger's appearance in the *Aeneid* is thanks to Vergil's innovation in expanding the epic repertoire of animals; however, the lack of an epic tiger, suggests that Vergil looked to other sources for his depiction of the tiger in the *Aeneid*.[9]

A possible source may be the *History of Animals* by Aristotle (384 – 322 BCE) in which he refers to the μαρτιχόρας ('*martichoras*'), a beast with a 'triple row of teeth', the 'face of a man' and the ability to 'shoot spines from its tail like arrows' (*Hist.Anim*.2.1.501a25-501b).[10] Aristotle prefaces his description by stating that he is repeating the Greek historian Ctesias' account (ca. 4th century BCE); even Aristotle seems unconvinced saying 'if we are to believe Ctesias.'[11] The extravagant

[7] Eleni Voultsiadou and Apostolos Tatolas (2005) wrote an article in which they give an overview of the types of animals found in archaic Greek epic (Homer, Hesiod, and the Homeric Hymns). The tiger is not listed as one of them.
[8] I have made a search for references to *tiger* in the *Argonautica*, *Annales* and *De Rerum Natura* and I have found none.
[9] The tiger appears five times in the *Aeneid*: 4.367; 6.805; 9.730; 10.166; 11.577. The tiger already appears in Vergil's earlier poetry (*Ecl*.5.29 and *Georg*.2.151; 3.248; 4.407, 510).
[10] Some modern scholars equate *martichoras* with tiger based on a passage from Pausanias (Peck 1965:99). Although Pausanias suggests this link, he is quick to argue that the more fantastic claims about the animal are due to the 'Indians excessive fear of the beast' (*Grae.Des.*9.21.4).
[11] Bigwood suggests that Ctesias stayed at the Persian court from 405 to 398/7 BCE, and that he started writing the *Indica* (a natural history of India) once he had returned to Greece, however, the exact date of his return is uncertain (Bigwood 1989:302).

claims about the *martichoras* in addition to Aristotle's scepticism suggest that this is a creature of fable and not a description of a real tiger (Bigwood 1993:538).

A more likely source for Vergil's tiger is the city of Rome itself, for although rare, tigers were seen in the Roman capital. The first official contact with tigers occurred in 20 -19 BCE, when an Indian embassy presented some of the animals to Augustus on the Island of Samos (Toynbee 1973:70). We know for certain when the first tiger appeared in Rome as Pliny the Elder (23 – 79 CE) records the event:[12]

> The same emperor [Augustus] was the first person who exhibited a tame tiger in Rome in the arena. This happened during the consulship of Quintus Tubero and Paulus Fabius Maximus (11 BCE), at the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus, on the fourth day before the nones of May (4th May).
>
> (*Nat.Hist.*8.25.65)[13]

Although it is highly unlikely that Vergil had direct experience of a tiger for he was already dead by the time it first appeared in Rome (11 BCE), the creature was seen in Athens centuries earlier. Moreover, the Roman author Varro, writing between 47-45 BCE, describes the animal, remarking: 'the tiger is as it were a mottled lion' (*L.L.*5.100). Within this context, we can assume that Vergil had some knowledge of the tiger, as some of his audience undoubtedly did. When the tiger makes its first appearance in Book 4 of the *Aeneid*, the account would not have struck the Roman audience as ridiculous:

> Traitor, no goddess was your mother, nor was Dardanus, the founder of your race, your father. But rough Mount Caucasus gave birth to you on its hard rocks and tigresses of Hyrcania gave to you their teats to suckle.
>
> (*Aen*. 4.365-367)[14]

Dido condemns Aeneas for his cruelty in abandoning her, attributing his cold-heartedness to his being suckled by tigresses; *rough* Mt Caucasus and its *hard rocks* echo this. The tigresses come from Hyrcania, a region which lies south of the Caspian Sea in modern-day Iran. The exotic nature of this land may suggest something of Dido's eastern origin—Tyre—since she is to be imagined

[12] Although Pliny wrote after Vergil, a great deal of the information he provides about Roman perspectives on animals is in fact much older. Pliny is thus an invaluable source for Roman scientific and cultural insights into animals.
[13] The Latin text of the *Natural History* used here is that of Rackham, Jones and Eichholz (1938-1962).
[14] My translations of the *Aeneid* come from the Latin text of J Greenough (1900).

as plausibly having past experience of this animal. The tiger reference may further suggest something of Aeneas' own foreign status (Trojan).

Vergil's description of the tiger's homeland of Hyrcania is also not a distortion of facts, as Pliny says:

> The lands of Hyrcania and India produce the tiger, an animal of tremendous speed and this is particularly noticeable when the whole of its litter, which is always large, is being hunted down. The litter is snatched away by a hunter lying in ambush on a horse that is as swift as possible, and soon after the litter is transferred to fresh horses. But when the tigress discovers that her lair is empty of her cubs—for male tigers do not care for their offspring—, she hurries off in haste, tracking them by smell. As she approaches and her roar becomes louder, the hunter throws down one of the cubs; she snatches it up with her teeth, and returns to her lair, moving swifter even with the extra weight, and then continues her pursuit, until the hunter has returned to his ship while on the shore the wild beast rages in vain.
>
> (*Nat.Hist.*8.25.66)

Hyrcania, as Pliny says, is one of the lands where tigers may be found which corroborates Vergil's account. Likewise Vergil's line *admorunt ubera tigres* (*Aen*.4. 367) seems to echo what Pliny says about the maternal instincts of tigresses. The tigress is fiercely protective of her cubs, unlike the male tiger, she is quick to track down her stolen cubs. Aeneas' wet-nurses (tigresses) imbue him with a callous and hard character, which parallels Pliny's choice of *saevit* ('to be fierce') to describe the tigress on the shore; thereby hinting at a possible common belief about the proverbial ferocity of tigresses. Although it must be remembered that Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* was written well after the *Aeneid*, Vergil's depiction of the tiger suggests that he and his Roman readers had some accurate information about the animal—their concept of the tiger had none of the fantastic properties of Aristotle's *martichoras*.

In addition to the tiger, the hippomanes[15] is another animal-related innovation made to the epic genre by Vergil. [16] It appears in Book 4 of the *Aeneid*, albeit under another name, during a magical ritual conducted by a Massylian priestess:

[15] The hippomanes is not mentioned by Homer. It appears in Sophocles' *Ajax* (442/441 BCE) to describe a meadow as 'wild with horses' (l.143). Theocritus names an Arcadian plant hippomanes for its 'maddening effects on mares and stallions' (*Idy*.2.48). Aristotle is the first to call the fleshy growth on a foal's forehead hippomanes.

[16] What exactly the hippomanes is has been the subject of much speculation amongst biologists as J King notes in a 1967 paper. He argues that the hippomanes is an 'allantoic calculus', a free-floating deposit of

> She had sprinkled waters supposedly from the spring of Avernus. Herbs, swelling with deadly poisonous juice and cut by moonlight with bronze sickles, were procured; and from the brow of a new-born foal, a love-charm was ripped before its mother took it.
>
> (*Aen*.4.512-516)

The Massylian priestess (mentioned in line 4.483) operates the ritual at Dido's behest. The ritual calls for some rather sinister ingredients: water from Avernus, a lake near the entrance to the Underworld, and deadly herbs. Although they are sinister, hell-water and noxious herbs are easy to understand, but what of the *amor* (love charm)—is it rooted in folklore or an invention of Vergil's? A passage from Aristotle's *History of Animals* provides the answer:

> Whenever a mare has given birth, she immediately devours the after-birth and gnaws off the substance, called the hippomanes, that is located in the foal's forehead. In size it is a little smaller than a dried fig. Its shape is flat and round, and its colour black. If anyone is able to take it before the mare, and the mare smells it, she becomes wild and mad through the scent. For this reason witches search after and collect the substance.
>
> (*Hist.Anim*.6.22.577a10-15)

Vergil's *amor* is so similar to Aristotle's account of the hippomanes that the poet must been be thinking of that substance. Aristotle suggests that the potency of the hippomanes lies in the maddening effect of its scent, which can drive mares into a frenzy. The very name of hippomanes, which in Greek means 'horse-madness' succinctly denotes its maddening effects on horses. This may explain why witches are fond of it, for presumably they can cause a similar 'horse-madness' in their human victims. The account Pliny gives of the hippomanes is similar, saying:

> And indeed when a foal is born it has on its brow a love-poison called hippomanes; it is the size of a dried fig and is black in colour. The nursing mare immediately consumes it after giving birth to the foal or, if she does not, she will not suckle the foal. If anyone can snatch and keep this, he will be driven mad by its scent, like the affect it has on horses.
>
> (*Nat.Hist.*8.66.165)

Pliny confirms that the scent of the hippomanes also effects humans aligning with Aristotle's suggestion about its popularity among witches. What the nature of 'horse-madness' is, is not

---

tissue debris, which appears in the allantoic sacs of pregnant horses at about day 95 of gestation (1967:278; 282-283).

clear; however, in a later passage from the *Natural History* Pliny suggests that the madness is of a sexual nature:

> For the hippomanes has such potency in magic potions that, if it is added to bronze which is being cast into a figure of a mare at Olympia, it will excite in any stallion brought near a frenzy for sexual lust.
>
> (*Nat.Hist.*28.49.181)

The hippomanes, Pliny suggests, can inspire lust in stallions, and presumably in men too—driven *mad* by the scent. Vergil's choice of *amor*, ('love') (4.516) to describe the hippomanes implies sexual overtones. In an earlier work of poetry, the *Georgics* (ca. 29 BCE), Vergil employs the hippomanes in a similar way to its later use in the *Aeneid*. However, here the sexual suggestion is very apparent:

> Then at last, hippomanes, a potent juice which slowly drips from the [mare's] groin and is suitably named 'horse-madness' by shepherds; frequently gathered by wicked step-mothers, and mixed with herbs and harmful incantations.
>
> (*Georg*.3.280-283)

Here we have a hippomanes of a different kind. Not a growth from the forehead of a foal but juice (*virus*) from the groin of a mare. The stepmothers are described as wicked (*malae…novercae Georg*.3.282) and the herbs and incantations are described as harmful (*innoxia*, *Georg*.3.283), suggesting something sinister about the whole affair, and resembling the equally sinister ritual in the *Aeneid*. Vergil's use of *hippomanes* in *Georgic* 3 seems to contradict Aristotle and Pliny's claims that the hippomanes is a growth found on the forehead of foals. The ambiguity can be explained because both the *amor* (*Aen*.4.516) and the *virus* (*Georg*.3.281) come from horses (foal's forehead/sexual secretions) and both inspire lust. Pliny comments on the effectiveness of a variety of aphrodisiacs including the sexual secretions of copulating horses:

> Some of the things that incite sexual lust are an ointment made of a wild boar's gall, and even swallowing its marrow, or a balm of asses' fat mixed with a gander's grease; and also that potent juice described by Vergil as coming from the copulation of horses.
>
> (*Nat.Hist.*28.80.261)

The veracity of these claims is highly dubious. However, the supposed aphrodisiac properties may have originated from observations about the behaviour of horses (King 1967:277). The fact

that both Aristotle and Pliny give an account of the hippomanes' libidinal effects, suggests that the efficacy of the hippomanes enjoyed support among the wider ancient world. Vergil's inclusion of the hippomanes in the *Aeneid* suggest that he had a firm grasp of the contemporary beliefs milling about in the wider Roman world.

Vergil's innovations suggest that he may have been influenced by scientific and cultural beliefs about animals as expressed in Aristotle and Pliny the Elder. In spite of the fact that Pliny wrote about 70 years after Vergil, much of the Roman animal lore found in the *Natural History* dates from the Augustan age and in some instances is even older. Therefore it is necessary to consider the wider context of the *Aeneid*'s animal imagery so that one may discover to what extent Vergil manipulated animal imagery to reflect the contemporary beliefs of his Roman audience. This aspect will be discussed in depth in Chapters 2 through 6.

1.4 Animals in Classical Epics

As argued above, there are important scientific texts from the Greco-Roman world which greatly enhance a reading of the animal imagery in the *Aeneid*. Likewise Vergil's epic predecessors are also important to consider in any examination of the *Aeneid*'s animals.

Homer and Hesiod

The epic tradition in the West has its origin in Homer (ca. 800 or 750 BCE), and, as mentioned above, his epics served as the basis for Aristotle's definition of what makes up an epic. In the *Poetics*, Aristotle lays out the integral parts of an epic: 'simple in structure and a story of suffering like the *Iliad* or complex with a story centred on character like the *Odyssey*' (Dorsch 1965:667). Nowhere does Aristotle even suggest that animals feature as a characteristic of epic, yet in the proem of the *Iliad* they are already present:

> O goddess, sing of the anger of Peleus' son, Achilles, that accursed anger which brought countless disasters upon the Achaeans, and sent the souls of many brave warriors down to Hades, and caused their bodies to be left as spoils for dogs and all types of birds.
>
> (*Il.*1.1-4)[17]

These opening lines summarize the story of the *Iliad*. The theme is Achilles' anger, resulting in the death of many, and leaving their corpses to dogs and carrion birds. The dogs and birds paint a dramatic picture of what future awaits the Greeks at Troy—ominous and ignoble to say the least! Unlike the proem of the *Iliad*, where animals serve to foreshadow what awaits, in the *Odyssey*, Helios' cattle are the cause of death:

> Yet in spite of his desire, he could not save his companions, for they perished through their own recklessness, fools, who ate the cattle of Hyperion, the Sun.
>
> (*Od.*1.6-8)

Odysseus desires to return home with his companions, but they are dead. The cattle of the Sun episode reminds Odysseus of his loss and makes his homecoming that much sadder. What is more, this episode hints at the hubris of Odysseus' companions—eating the Sun's cattle—, while also suggesting that a safe homecoming depended on proper respect for the gods. The fact that

[17] My translations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* come from the text of D. Munro and T. Allen (1920).

animals appear in the proem of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* may suggest that their importance in epic is more prominent than previously thought. This is also the case with Hesiod (ca. 700 BCE), who, like Homer, intimately weds animals and epic in the opening lines of the *Theogony*:

> The Muses one day taught Hesiod to sing beautiful songs while he was tending his lambs under sacred Mount Helicon.
>
> (*Theog*.22-23)[18]

Inspired by the Muses Hesiod begins the *Theogony* and becomes an epicist. The setting is pastoral; Hesiod the shepherd is tending 'lambs' near Mount Helicon, which was sacred to the Muses.[19] It is rather telling that at this moment, the birth of the *Theogony*, animals also make an appearance. This scene suggests that divine inspiration occurs in the midst of daily activity without consideration for the human individual, but may the presence of lambs at this seminal moment further suggest that animals and epic are intimately yoked?

Although I might be overly zealous in my claim that animals should be considered an essential element of the epic genre, nonetheless, there are many animal references in Homer and Hesiod. For instance, the *Theogony* also features Zeus' eagle which pecks out Prometheus' liver (*Theog*.523-526), a bull sacrificed by Prometheus (*Theog*.536-541), bees in a simile which describe women (*Theog*.594-599), and a vivid description of Cerberus as a guard dog (*Theog*.769-774).

The *Iliad* is no different, as Hawtree has observed there are 18 references to animals in the first book (2014:73), while Tua Korhonen and Erika Ruonakoski have identified 121 animal similes in the entire *Iliad* (2017:110). Besides the pervasive appearance of animals, there is also a vast array of species that appear: Stephen Lonsdale has observed that there are 62 identifiable species in the *Iliad* (1990:43). Homer's choice of species seems to favour animals that are involved in human activity such as horses, cattle and dogs, but there are also a number of wild animals such as lions, wolves and leopards (Voultsiadou and Tatolas 2005: 1875; 1878-1879).

[18] My translation of the *Theogony* comes from the text of H. Evelyn-White (1914).
[19] Mount Helicon is the largest mountain in Boeotia, and on its slopes lay Ascra, the home of Hesiod (Dunbabin 1961:400). The Muses were worshiped on Mount Helicon and games in their honour were celebrated every four years (Dunbabin 1961:400).

Homer uses animals as metaphors, in similes and in epithets, but they also often appear as part of the main narrative or in ekphrases. As metaphors animal references may be used as insults as when Helen speaks to Hector in Book 6 of the *Iliad*:

> But come now, enter and seat yourself on this stool, brother-in-law, since above all others, trouble has entwined your heart because of me, a dog, and the recklessness of Paris.
>
> (*Il*.6.354-356)

The dog metaphor in its application to Helen is vague. This is not a case where a character is scolded for some specific behaviour such as Diomedes' words to Hector:

> Once again, you dog, you have escaped death!
>
> (*Il*.11.362)

Diomedes' reason is clear, in his eyes Hector is a coward and thus a 'dog', Helen, however, merely calls herself 'a dog' without any explanation, making it difficult to interpret Helen's words. Not much is known about dogs in Archaic Greece, but as Margaret Graver suggests in her article, whenever dog metaphors are used in the *Iliad* they are 'universally pejorative' and associated with shame (1995:44). In Helen's case, the dog metaphor may refer to her 'shameful' behaviour viz. lasciviousness or boldness (Kitchell 2004:178). [20] Although the lack of knowledge about dogs in Archaic Greece complicates explaining the association between dogs and 'shamelessness', some scholars have attempted to explain the origin for this belief by observing the behaviour of modern dogs, their 'fawning gaze combined with unabashed sexual and excremental interests' (Kirk 1985: 77). Whatever the implication of the dog-Helen metaphor is, it seems to be an unflattering remark. In contrast not all animal references are negative. Some are positive as when Hera is described as ox-eyed during an argument with her husband Zeus:

> Then the ox-eyed lady Hera replied to him.
>
> (*Il*.1.551)

The epithet 'ox-eyed' (βοῶπις) is used fourteen times in the *Iliad* to refer to Hera, and it is usually understood to emphasise the goddess' modesty (Kirk 1985:110). Unlike Athena's epithet of 'owl-

[20] The Lexicon of Liddell, Scott and Jones explains that κύων is often used in Homer as 'a word of reproach of women, to denote shameless (ἀναιδής) or audacious (θαρσαλέος) behaviour' (1996:1015).

eyed' (γλαυκῶπις), which suggest a bold, wide-eyed gaze like that of an owl, Hera displays a 'placid and downward gaze' like that of a cow, moreover, an appropriate gaze for a 'sober matron' (McInerney 2010:119).[21] Another aspect of βοῶπις may lie with Hera's role of patron goddess of Argos, where she was worshipped as protectress of cattle (McInerney 2010:120). Jennifer Larson has remarked that this title may appear surprising to modern sensibilities, while in fact it reflects the goddess' maternal role as nourisher (2016:37).[22]

In addition to animal metaphors and animal epithets, animals also appear in similes, and what is more, animals occur with greater frequency in similes than as metaphors in the *Iliad* (Ogilvy 1972:51). Animal similes can be simple and succinct such as the comparison of Menelaus to a wild beast:

> But the son of Atreus, Menelaus, passed to and fro through the crowd like a wild beast.
>
> (*Il*.3.449)

Or the comparison of Greek and Trojan armies to wolves:

> But the battle had equal heads, and they charged like wolves.
>
> (*Il*.11.72-73)

In both instances, the similes serve to compare the movement of Menelaus and the armies to the swift and energetic movement of wild beasts. The similes, furthermore, cast Menelaus and the armies as savage and aggressive, which in the light of the particular context is rather telling.[23] [24] The similes are simple and little detail is given about the particular animals. It is left to the reader to imagine what beastly or wolf-like qualities are entailed. Homer, however, usually goes into more detail than this. He often offers long descriptions of the chosen animal, detailing its movement, habitat, hunting techniques and physical qualities. For example, in Book 17, Menelaus is compared to an eagle, and, unlike the previous two similes, the eagle is described in vivid detail:

---

[21] γλαυκῶπις is usually translated as 'bright-eyed' yet γλαύξ is the Greek name for the little owl (*Athene noctua*), so named for its glaring eyes (Liddell, Scott, and Jones 1996:351).
[22] Compare Walter Burkert, who notes the epithet and adds, 'wide, fertile plains with grazing herds of cattle and cattle sacrifices are Hera's special preserve' (1985:131).
[23] In the preceding lines Menelaus had just beaten Paris in a duel (*Il*.3.345-380), but thanks to Aphrodite's aid Paris safely returns and joins Helen on their 'luxurious bed' (*Il*.3.448). The implication is that Paris is cowardly and quiet unlike the beastlike Menelaus.
[24] Both armies are compared to wolves which suggests they are equally matched, not prey versus predator. This may also account for the apparent deadlock, 'equal head', as neither army will give ground.

> So spoke golden-haired Menelaus and departed, peering all around like an eagle, which, men say, sees the sharpest of all birds under the sky, and, although the eagle flies high, the swift-footed hare does not go unnoticed as he lies hid in the thick-leafed bush, for the eagle dives down on the hare, quickly snatching him, and rips the life out of him.
>
> (*Il*.17.673-678)

The simile begins with a relatively simple comparison between Menelaus and an eagle, but then extends into a lifelike description of how an eagle spots a hare, swoops down and finally kills his prey. It is rather difficult to see how the latter half of the simile (*Il*.674-678) is supposed to refer to Menelaus. It appears that the simile has taken on a life of its own, becoming a side-story in its own right with the eagle as subject. The extended simile may be mere embellishment and ornamentation, but it does offer the reader a vivid and picturesque glimpse into the life of an eagle, while simultaneously suggesting something of Menelaus' character without stating it explicitly—a latent tendency to kill quickly and effectively.

Apart from their figurative use, animals in Homer can also be part of the main narrative and may serve to intensify emotion or drive action, such as when Odysseus returns to Ithaca and encounters Argus, his faithful hound:

> There lay the dog Argus, covered with fleas. But even now, when he saw Odysseus standing nearby, he wagged his tail and dropped both his ears, but he was too weak to approach his master: Odysseus looked aside and wiped away his tears, easily hiding them from Eumaeus.
>
> (*Od*.17.300-305)

This is rather a touching scene in the *Odyssey*. Odysseus' uninhibited show of emotion at the sight of Argus riddled with fleas, and weak with age makes the effects of his twenty year absence tangible. When he left for Troy, Argus was a prize hunting dog (*Od*.17.306-310), but in Odysseus' absence, Argus was neglected by the maidservants, and now lies on a dung-hill covered with fleas (*Od*.17.318-319). On one level this scene functions as a touching reunion between dog and master, and also suggests something about Odysseus' loyalty and love for his own, but on another level it serves as an analogy for the dire state that Ithaca is in. William Beck suggests that Ithaca like Argus, was in good order when Odysseus left, but that within the passing of twenty years Ithaca became infested by parasitical suitors much like Argus' fleas (1991:162).

Apollonius of Rhodes

Like the earlier Greek epics of Homer and Hesiod, the *Argonautica* by Apollonius of Rhodes (ca. 3rd century BCE) also frequently features animals. This comes as no surprise since Apollonius was a noted scholar of Homer and deliberately emulated Homer's language, meter and imagery (Barber 1961:70). The *Argonautica* narrates Jason's voyage on the *Argo* to Colchis in order to retrieve the Golden Fleece. Apollonius' forte lies in his descriptive passages. For example, in Book 1 when Ancaeus and Hercules slaughter bulls, Apollonius goes into great detail:

> Then mighty Ancaeus and Heracles girded themselves to kill the bulls. With his club Heracles struck one of the bulls on the middle of its head, right on its brow, and falling in a heap on the spot, it sunk into the ground; Ancaeus struck the broad neck of the other bull with his brazen axe and cut through the mighty sinews; and it fell down pitching forward over both its horns.
>
> (*Argo*.1.425-431)[25]

Hercules, armed with his usual cudgel, smites one of the bulls killing it, whereas Ancaeus, not as mighty, first strikes with his axe, then severs the bull's tendons. Apollonius is surely drawing the reader's attention to Hercules' brute strength by contrasting his 'death-blow' with Ancaeus' less-than-Herculean kill. The sacrifice follows the launch of the *Argo* and is performed to ensure Apollo's protection (*Argo*.1.411-425). With the sacrifice complete, the *Argo* safely sails from Pagasae to begin its quest for the Golden Fleece (*Argo*.1.440-447). In a similarly evocative passage, Apollonius compares the dire situation in which the Argonauts find themselves to unfledged chicks screeching when they have fallen out of their nest (*Argo*.4.1298-1302). The chick-simile brings home how miserable and hopeless the Argonauts are.

Ennius and Lucretius

Like their Greek counterparts, Roman epics also abound in animal imagery. This comes as no surprise as Hawtree notes this 'dependence' of Roman epicists on their Greek predecessors with regard to animal imagery in particular.[26] Ennius' *Annales* (239 – 169 BCE), one of the first Latin epics, survives only in fragments; however, animals do appear. In a lively scene, Ennius describes the noise of horses as they charge over the ground:

[25] The Greek text of the *Argonautica* is that of Seaton (1919).
[26] See Hawtree's chapter in *Animals in Classical Thought and Life* (2014:73-82).

They pursued: their hooves shook the ground with the loudest din.

(*Ann*.8.283)[27]

Ennius' description of horses thundering over the ground could easily be placed in the *Iliad* without seeming odd or unnatural.[28] Ennius claims an even stronger bond with Homer. In the opening lines of the *Annales*, Ennius shares with his readers a dream in which Homer appeared to him (Aicher 1989:227). In this dream Homer explains that after his death his soul transmigrated into a peacock, and, more astoundingly, that after an interlude as a peacock his soul had now transmigrated into Ennius' own body! The dream functions as a bold statement to the reader that this Latin epic is a good as if Homer composed it, for if we are to believe Ennius, Homer actually did. It also serves to illustrate that the *Annales* would be based on Homeric patterns such as the use of hexameter, phraseology, syntax and imagery (Aicher 1989:228).

A later example of Roman epic is Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* (94 – 55 BCE). Although it is usually considered a didactic rather than an epic poem, it does bear certain epic markers such as metre, invoking divine inspiration, in this case Venus (*De.Re.Nat*.1.1-40), and the role of the hero, Epicurus (*De.Re.Nat*.1.66) (Gale 2005:442).[29] In addition to these two traditional epic markers, animals also frequently appear in the *De Rerum Natura*. Throughout the *De Rerum Natura*, Lucretius uses animals as a model for humans to follow in order to achieve tranquillity and happiness (Massaro 2014:45). In comparing animals and humans, Lucretius observes that animals live a happier life because they live in harmony with the laws of nature, while humans, ignoring the laws of nature, pursue wealth and power, and fear death and the gods (Massaro 2014:46).

In a graphic passage in Book 5, Lucretius illustrates the repercussions of ignoring the laws of nature. Lucretius describes experiments in which humans tried to use bulls, lions and boars in warfare (*De.Re.Nat*.5.1308-1341), and the results were horrific: the panic-stricken lions attack friend and foe alike (*De.Re.Nat*.5.1318-1321), the bulls trample each other (*De.Re.Nat*.5.1322-1325), and the boars gore one another (*De.Re.Nat*.5.1326-1329). Bulls are domestic animals, and coercing them to attack, forces them into an 'unnatural situation', similarly lions and boars are wild and savage, so attempting to train them to be 'savage on command' would be ludicrous

[27] My translations of the *Annales* come from the text of Warmington (1935).
[28] Compare Ennius' description to a similar scene in the *Iliad*: 'As when a horse, stalled and well-fed at the manger, breaks free from its halter and gallops over the plain stamping its hooves.' (*Il*.15.263-264.).
[29] The *De Rerum Natura* is considered didactic because it addresses Gaius Memmius, Lucretius' benefactor, and attempts to instruct him in Epicurus' philosophical system (Gale 2005:440).

(Shelton 1995:120). The animals-in-warfare passage shows that subverting the laws of nature invites calamity and only increases human distress (Shelton 1995:120). The way in which Lucretius depicts the suffering of the bulls, lions and boars also serves to invite the reader to sympathise with the animals' pain, and furthermore presses the point that human happiness also depends upon them (Massaro 2014:57).

In composing the *Aeneid*, a generation after Lucretius, Vergil (70 – 19 BCE) looked to the works of earlier Greek and Roman epicists whose epics laid the foundation for the genre. I have already shown that animals play an important part in the makeup of classical epics, and as can be expected animals appear frequently in the *Aeneid*—there are 450 references to animals.[30]

Animals in the *Aeneid*

Like Homer, Vergil uses animals in a variety of ways. In Book 1 a herd of deer forms part of the narrative (*Aen*.1.184-194), and, like the Odysseus-Argus scene, serves as a foreboding that all is not well. Like Helen's unflattering description of herself as a dog, Dido uses a tiger when she rebukes Aeneas for deserting her (*Aen*.4.365-367). Furthermore, like Homer, Vergil is fond of extended animal similes that almost become vignettes, offering dramatic glimpses into the life of the animal while reciprocally offering valuable commentary on the *real* situation outside of the simile. The Dido-wounded doe simile (*Aen*.4.68-73), like the Menelaus-eagle simile, paints such a life-like picture of a doe running through the woods of Crete that the reader may be forgiven in forgetting about Dido.

These are just a few examples that illustrate that the extensive use of animals and animal imagery in classical epic has its roots in Homer and Hesiod, continued under Latin epicists and found expression in Vergil's *Aeneid*. Although the majority of the animals that feature in the *Aeneid* also appear in Homer, Vergil also made innovations of his own, and often manipulated Homer's depiction of an animal to express something new. For instance, the lion simile in Book 20 of the *Iliad*, shows an animal acting instinctively:

> The lion lashes his ribs and haunches on both sides with his tail, and stirs himself up to fight, and glaring fiercely he dashes straight on with all his might; whether he slays one of the men or he is killed in the throng of battle.
>
> (*Il*.20.170-173)

[30] See the appendix.

Vergil, however, manipulates the simile and portrays a cautious and restrained animal:

> As when in the fields of the Carthaginians, [a lion] is severely wounded in the breast by hunters, and only then advances to battle.
>
> (*Aen*.12.5-6)

In contrast to the preceding passage, Vergil's lion *only* attacks when wounded while the Homeric lion attacks when provoked and even whips itself with its tail to spur it on to fight. Vergil's lion appears to show restraint and hesitation as if he is aware of the impending danger. Homer's lion, however, behaves instinctively and shows no concern for danger.[31]

In addition to manipulating animal imagery, Vergil also expanded the epic menagerie with additions of his own, such as the tiger already mentioned previously. In Book 9 of the *Aeneid*, Turnus is likened to a marauding tiger when he enters the Trojan camp and confronts Pandarus:

> [Pandarus] was a fool, since he did not see the Rutulian king burst into the middle of the Trojan troops, and not only kept him out, but enclosed him within the town's walls, like a savage tiger among helpless cattle.
>
> (*Aen*.9.728-730)

Its appearance in the *Aeneid* is thanks to Vergil's innovation in expanding the epic repertoire of animals. Vergil's tiger is a cruel and exotic creature. The Turnus-tiger simile ingeniously focuses on his ferocity while at the same time, the exoticness of the tiger evokes both fear and fascination with the reader, and furthermore complicates our understanding of Turnus as the antagonist. Vergil's manipulation of Homeric animals and his additions to the epic menagerie will be fully explored in Chapters 2 to 6 of this thesis, which will offer an in-depth analysis of the animals in the *Aeneid* and also address their roles and functions. However before moving on, it is important to gain an overview of the number and variety of animals that appear in the *Aeneid*.

To illustrate this, I have compiled my own survey of every animal reference in the *Aeneid*.[32] The table below, however, contains the seven species that will be examined in this thesis; the appearance of the snake, lion, deer, wolf, dove, eagle and owl have all been calculated in separate columns indicating the frequency with which they appear in the epic.

[31] These two passages will be discussed in detail in chapter 3.
[32] Refer to the appendix.

Aeneid

Books	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**Total**
Snake		5		2	3	3	11	5			2	1	32
Lion		1	1	1	1		2	3	3	4		1	17
Deer	2			3	1	1	5			1		1	14
Wolf	1	2	1				2	1	2		2		11
Dove		1			6	2				1			10
Eagle	1				1				1		1	2	6
Owl				1								2	3

The above table illustrates the selection of animals that will be examined in this present thesis. To examine all the *Aeneid*'s animal references would entail a much longer thesis than I am permitted; the seven species that I have chosen, however, provide the most insight into Vergil's use of animal imagery. I chose wild animals because, unlike domestic animals, they are a greater diversity of species.[33] Moreover, Vergil is more innovative with wild animal imagery. Domestic animals such as sheep and cattle are largely used in scenes dealing with sacrifice, while horses are frequently described in passing.[34] Of the seven wild animals that I decided upon, my decision was motivated by the fact that they all appear in Homer. This provided a useful avenue to examine how Vergil adapted and changed their earlier Homeric representations to suit his own ends.

[33] There are seven types of domestic animals in the *Aeneid* (cattle, dog, goat, horse, pig, sheep and nonspecific; see the appendix for more detail).
[34] There are naturally exceptions such as the bull simile in *Aeneid* 12 which describes a fight between Aeneas and Turnus (*Aen*.12.715-724), or Aethon, Pallas' horse, who weeps at his master's death (*Aen*.11.89-90).

1.5 The *Aeneid*'s Scholarly Tradition

When considering the animal imagery in the *Aeneid*, one also needs to pay attention to the epic's interpretative history. The *Aeneid* has a long tradition of commentary that still continues today. The earliest extant commentary on Vergil was penned by Servius in the 4th century CE (Fowler 2006:73).[35] Servius is in no doubt about the purpose of the *Aeneid*, in the introductory note to his commentary on Book 1 of the *Aeneid* he says:

> This is Vergil's intention, to imitate Homer and praise Augustus through his ancestors.
>
> (*Comm.Verg.Aen*.1.*prae*.)[36]

In Servius' view the *Aeneid*'s hero, Aeneas, chiefly serves as a symbol by which Vergil can praise Augustus. A later commentator, Tiberius Claudius Donatus, wrote his *Commentaries on Vergil* in the early 5th century CE, and shares Servius' opinion:

> For he [Vergil] was expected to show Aeneas to be of such an especial nature so that he might be exhibited as a worthy ancestor and forefather of Caesar [Augustus] in whose honour these words were written.
>
> (*Inter.Verg*.I.2.7-25)[37]

The way in which Vergil chose to depict Aeneas' character was, in Donatus' opinion, a carefully considered choice; Aeneas' actions and behaviour would have to be in harmony with those of Augustus. Both Servius and Donatus interpret the *Aeneid* as a panegyric to Augustus, and until the twentieth century this was still the reigning interpretation. In the book, *Vergil's epische Technik* (1903), Richard Heinze argues that Vergil was profoundly in favour of Augustus and his 'reign of peace' (1993:310).[38] Some thirty years later Ronald Syme also suggested in *The Roman Revolution* (1939), that 'Virgil was engaged in writing an epic that should reveal the hand of destiny in the earliest origins of Rome, the continuity of Roman history and its culmination in the rule of Augustus' (1939:462). Although Syme recognises that Vergil praises Augustus, he is quick to defend Vergil from accusations of composing mere propaganda, rather, according to Syme,

[35] Servius' commentary is held to be based on an earlier 4th century CE commentary by Aelius Donatus, which is now lost (Fowler 2006:73). Suetonius, however, mentions that a school teacher, Quintus Caecilius Epirota was the 'first to begin lecturing on Vergil' in about 25 BCE (*De Grammaticis* 16.3).
[36] My translations of the *In Vergilii Carmina Commentarii* come from the text by Thilo and Hagen (1884).
[37] My translations of the *Interpretationes Vergilianae* come from the text by Georges (1906).
[38] Heinze's book was first published in 1903 and later translated into English as *Virgil's Epic Technique* (1993).

Vergil enjoyed a close relationship with Augustus and put his poetic skills in service to the *princeps* (1939:464-465).[39]

After the Second World War, however, opinions changed drastically in the light of post-war politics. Scholars began re-examining the *Aeneid* and discovered that underneath the 'public voice', which praises Rome and Augustus, there lingered a 'private voice' which expresses loss and regret (Kallendorf 2007:vii). One of the leading scholars who spearheaded this approach was Adam Parry. In 1963 he published 'The Two Voices of Virgil's *Aeneid*', an article in which he examines this 'private voice'. Parry argues that Aeneas is often inconsistent in the set of values he articulates. Aeneas claims to embody *pietas* but his treatment of Dido and Turnus calls his claim into question. For example, when Aeneas abandons Dido in Book 4, she accuses him of 'impiety' because he breaks his 'pledge of faith' to her (Parry 1963:77). Parry argues that Aeneas' behaviour in this scene questions his claim to being *pius* since he 'cannot even maintain his piety in a personal way' (1963:77). Parry also questions whether Aeneas has really overcome the *furor* ('rage') and *ira* ('anger') within himself, for when Turnus begs for mercy Aeneas shows none (1963:68). Parry's approach suggests that Aeneas is not master of himself as the 'public voice' of destiny drives him to leave Dido and show no mercy to Turnus, while his 'private voice' expresses grief, suffering and pain over what he has done (1963:80). Parry suggests that this 'private voice' questions whether Rome is 'of greater importance than the suffering' endured by the human characters (1963:80). Many scholars followed in Parry's footsteps and came to be known as the 'Harvard school' or 'pessimists' (Kallendorf 2007:vii). One such scholar is Wendell Clausen (1964), who also sees in the *Aeneid* an undercurrent of regret. In his analysis of the final battle between Turnus and Aeneas, in which Aeneas sees Pallas' belt slung on Turnus shoulder, Clausen argues that Turnus' death is not a triumph for Aeneas but a 'poignant reminder' of the loss of his friend Pallas; at the end of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas has won but at what cost (1964: 145).[40]

More recently, however, some scholars have attempted to reconcile these two opposing views. They recognise that the poem makes 'great bows to the Augustan future' but argue that Vergil often creates tension by hinting at ambiguity (Putnam 1995b:2).[41] One of the scholars who follows

[39] Other influential studies that also argue that the *Aeneid* celebrates the achievements of Augustus and his reign include T. S. Elliot (1945), Viktor Pöschl (1950), Philip Hardie (1986), Francis Cairns (1990) and Brooks Otis (1995).
[40] Some of the other scholars who may be considered as belonging to the Harvard School include Michael Putnam (1965), Kenneth Quinn (1969), Robert Williams (1987), Oliver Lyne (1987) and Craig Kallendorf (2007).
[41] Putnam's 1965 study, *The Poetry of the Aeneid* placed him in the Harvard school, but his more recent work such as *Virgil's Aeneid* (1995b) and *The Humanness of Heroes* (2011) suggest an ambivalent reading.

this approach is Michael Putnam (1995b), who supports his interpretation by examining the detailed description of Aeneas' shield in Book 8. Depicted on the shield is Augustus standing on the quarterdeck of his ship, and as he prepares for the battle of Actium, his forehead 'emits twin flames' (*flammas…vomunt*, *Aen*.8.680-681). Vergil uses a similar phrase, 'breathe out fire' (*incendia…vomentem*, *Aen*.8.259) to describe Cacus, a fire-breathing giant, who is killed by Hercules earlier in the book. The description of Augustus' flame-emitting forehead implies divine power, however, the similarity of the words *flammas vomunt* to *incendia vomentem* may be inviting a comparison between Augustus and Cacus (Putnam 1995b:3). According to Putnam, Vergil may be suggesting that Augustus' methods in establishing his reign are monstrous, entailing a 'deal of violence' (1995b:3). In this way Putnam's ambivalent reading illustrates how carefully the *Aeneid* should be read as what may at first appear laudatory may also subtly imply subversive connotations.

Richard Thomas (2001) has also argued for an ambivalent reading of the *Aeneid* (2001:xii). Thomas refers to Jupiter's prophecy in Book 1 to illustrate his point:

> Trojan Caesar will arises, born of a noble lineage, destined to bound his dominion by Ocean's boundaries and his fame by the stars, Julius, a name handed down from great Iulus.
>
> (*Aen.*1.286-288)

Thomas points out the uncertainty of the names *Caesar…Iulius* as they could refer to either Julius or Augustus Caesar (2001:51). In Thomas' opinion, if Vergil was *really* praising Augustus, he would have been clear and direct, instead he has chosen to leave the meaning open which may suggest that Vergil had reservations about Augustus' reign and the methods he employed in establishing his dominion (2001:27). Thomas argues that ambiguity is a central theme in the *Aeneid*, for when Vergil praises Augustus or highlights Aeneas' *pietas*, at the same time he also draws the reader's attention to the human cost involved in establishing Augustus' reign or in securing Aeneas' victory (2001:xiii). [42]

Other scholars, such as Karl Galinsky have challenged an ambivalent reading and argue rather for a 'polysemantic approach' or a multi-perspective approach (Galinsky 2003:147). This means that the supposed ambiguity is 'best understood in terms not of simple pro- or anti-Augustan sentiments but rather of multiple perspectives which the reader is invited to sort out' (Galinsky

[42] Some other scholars have also argued for an ambiguous approach and include, Joseph Farrell and William Anderson (1990), Don Fowler (1990), Ernst Schmidt (2001), Sabine Grebe (2004), Julia Hedjuk (2009) and Leendert Weeda (2015).

2003:150). To illustrate his point of view, Galinsky examines two instances where Aeneas' display of 'self-control and self-discipline' have very different consequences. In Book 1, Aeneas attempts to raise the morale of his crew with an optimistic speech, after which Vergil comments:

> Such were his words, but troubled by heavy cares, he put on the appearance of hope and concealed deep within his heart his pain.
>
> (*Aen.*1.208-209)

But when Aeneas reveals to Dido in Book 4 that he is to leave her and make for Italy, his display of self-control only makes the situation worse:

> 'Why do I need to hide, or hold myself back for greater hurts? Did he heave a sigh at my weeping? Did he turn his eyes to see me? Did he break down and shed tears, or show pity for the one who loves him? '
>
> (*Aen.*4.368-370)

In the previous passage Aeneas' actions are admirable but when confronted by Dido, his lack of emotional expression is a liability. Aeneas' virtues are also his flaws and this makes him a character which can arouse different reactions in the readers; some may praise Aeneas for his show of emotional control, recognising that he put aside his personal feelings to fulfil his destiny, while other readers may interpret his lack of emotions, no matter how noble the cause, as callous. Likewise to some readers Turnus deserves sympathy because he dies attempting to defend his country, while to others he is a villain who stands in the way of Rome. This marked openness to the complexities of human life is what sets the *Aeneid* apart from other national epics (Galinsky 2007c:351). Vergil explored the 'human experience' within a changing world. Rome was changing from a republic to an empire, and its territory was expanding. As a consequence Vergil tailored the *Aeneid* to appeal to a multitude of perspectives that these changes brought about (Galinsky 2007c:340).[43]

The question whether the *Aeneid* is pro- or anti-Augustan, ambivalent towards Augustus or rather multi-perspective in its view about Augustan Rome, is still not settled. Although the ambivalent reading currently enjoys the widest popularity among classical scholars, others have attempted to circumvent the Augustan question in their inquiries into the *Aeneid*. Some of these scholars such as Katherine Toll (1997) and Yasmin Syed (2008), have argued that scouring the *Aeneid* for

[43] Other scholars such as Richard Jenkyns (1998), Andrew Bell (1999), John Reed (2007) and David Ross (2007) also favour a multi-perspective approach.

signs of Vergil's attitudes towards Augustus impoverishes our notions of the epic's intent, which they suggest was to address the Romans as a nation. In the following section, arguments in favour of reading the *Aeneid* in this way are suggested, as well as, the implications of this Roman-centred approach on animal imagery.

1.6 The Roman-ness of the Aeneid

The purpose of the *Aeneid*, as the proem suggests, is to recount the foundation of the Roman nation (Syed 2008:205). In the proem, attention is drawn to this purpose when Vergil says that Juno's hatred of Troy is the cause of all the troubles Aeneas has to undergo in founding the *Romana gens*:

> So great was the toil to found the Roman nation.
>
> (*Aen*.1.33)

The *Aeneid*'s interest in the foundation of the Roman nation sets it apart from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. These Homeric works are largely centred on the story of a hero—Achilles or Odysseus—and although they may sum up to some degree what it means to be Greek, they do not themselves directly reflect on 'Greek-ness', nor do they recount the origins of the Greeks (Syed 2008:205). The *Aeneid*, however, does reflect on Roman-ness as well as recount the origins of the Roman nation.[44]

This focus is firmly established in the proem not only by reference to the foundation of the *Romana gens* but also through reference to the *genus Latinum* (Syed 2008:205). The origin of the Latin nation, Vergil suggests, is traced to Aeneas' arrival in Latium, the founding of Lavinium, and the introduction of his gods to Latium:

> I sing of arms and a man, who, exiled by fate, was the first to come from the land of Troy to Italy, and the Lavinian shore; much was he tossed about on both land and sea, by the power of the gods, because the relentless wrath of cruel Juno. And he also suffered greatly in war, until he founded his city and brought his gods to Latium; from here sprang the Latin nation, the Alban fathers, and the walls lofty Rome.
>
> *(Aen*.1.1-7*)*

In these lines it is suggested that Aeneas' arrival in Latium gave birth to the Latin nation; however, the *genus Latinum* already existed before Aeneas' arrival. Throughout books 7 to 12, the people

[44] Roman-ness is a rough approximation of the Latin term *Romanitas* (Merrills and Miles 2010:88). Unlike the Greeks, the Romans did not define their common identity in terms of language or ethnicity, but rather in shared values, customs and a way of life (Woolf 2003:59). For example a person could illustrate his *Romanitas* by cultivating a number of personal virtues such as courage, seriousness and dignity; by the way in which he dressed (wearing a toga) or by participating in public office (Merrills and Miles 2010:88). It is interesting to note that the word *Romanitas* occurs only once in Latin literature (Follo 2014:547). Tertullian (ca. 155 – 240 CE) uses the term when he refers to a recent decision among the citizens of his native Carthage to wear Roman togas: 'Why now, if Roman-ness is to the welfare of all, are you in matters not honourable still followers of the Greeks?' (*De Pal*.4.1). From the Latin text of Gerlo (1940).

of Latium are called *Latini*, by various characters such as Amata, Turnus, Aeneas and King Latinus (Syed 2008:206).[45] Furthermore, the name of King Latinus itself lends credence to the existence of the *genus Latinum* before Aeneas' arrival as suggested in the proem. This apparent contradiction is resolved in a dialogue between Juno and Jupiter near the end of the *Aeneid*. Juno entreats Jupiter to let the Latins retain their name and customary garments:

> When they conclude peace, sealed by a marriage of good omen—so be it—and unite themselves by terms of a treaty, do not command the native Latins to change their ancient name, lest they become Trojans and be called the sons of Teucer; do not bid the men of Latium change their language or alter their garments. Let Latium remain, let there be Alban kings down the ages, let the Roman breed be made mighty by the manhood of Italy: Troy has fallen, let her and her name remain fallen.
>
> *(Aen*.12.822-828*)*

Juno bitterly consents to the happy nuptials *of* Aeneas and Lavinia. However, she asks that the 'native Latins' keep their 'ancient name.' This seems to confirm that the *genus Latinum*, as mentioned in the proem and elsewhere, existed independently of Aeneas' arrival in Latium.

Jupiter promises Juno that he will grant her wish to let the Latins keep their 'ancient name'. However, his words suggest that an entirely new nation will arise from the mingling of the Trojans and Latins:

> The Italians will keep to the speech and customs of their forefathers, and their name will remain as it is. The Trojans, mingled only in blood [with the Italians], will disappear. I shall institute customs and religious rites, and I shall make them all Latins with a single language. From this union, a race mixed with Italian blood will arise, which you will see surpasses men and even gods in religious devotion, and no other nation will celebrate your sacrifices as much as they.[46] [47]
>
> *(Aen*.12.834-840*)*

By intermarrying with the 'old Latin race', the Trojans, as a separate and distinct people, will blend into the mixture and thus lose their distinct ethnic identity. The new nation which arises from this union is not a continuation of the 'old Latin race', mentioned by Juno, but rather a completely new one; they will be named *Latini* (*Aen.*12.837). The contradiction in the proem's *genus Latinum* is

[45] Amata refers to them as *Latini* in *Aen*.7367; Turnus: *Aen*.7.470; 12.15; 12.693; Aeneas: *Aen*.8.117; 11.108; King Latinus: *Aen*.7.202; 11.302.
[46] *Ausonii* in line 834 refers to the inhabitants of Italy, and in the *Aeneid* is synonymous with *Latini*, the Latins (Lewis and Short 1980:209).
[47] *Subsident* in line 836 could be taken to mean either that the Trojans will settle down in the land or that their name will disappear as a result of mingling with the Italians.

now resolved. Aeneas is thus the founder of a new and inclusive nation, made up of both Trojans and indigenous inhabitants. What this seems to suggest is that the origin of the people of Rome came not just from Trojans but also from Italian stock (Toll 1997:42). This could explain why Vergil settled on Aeneas as an alternative to Romulus, since Romulus was only the founding father of Rome, while Aeneas could claim fatherhood of Latins, Italians and Romans. Aeneas' function in this role is emphasised by the epithet *pater* ('father'), with which he is designated 31 times in the *Aeneid*, and in only six of those instances with regard to his paternity of Ascanius (Toll 1997:42).

With Aeneas, the *Aeneid* provides a common origin for both the Romans and Italians, but what factors in Vergil's contemporary Rome led him to believe that the moment was right for a new founding father? One possible reason may be that when Vergil was composing the *Aeneid*, the unity of Italy was threatened (Toll 1997:35). Vergil's audience would have been well aware of the recent civil war between Mark Antony and Octavian, and the former's defeat at Actium in 31 BCE (Galinsky 2007b:6). The unity of Italy, moreover, was also a recent concept. It was only after the Social War of 91 to 88 BCE, that Rome brought all of Italy under her suzerainty and extended Roman citizenship to a large number of Italians (Salmon 1962:107-108). Aeneas was therefore the perfect choice, as *pater* not only of Romans but also of Latins and Italians, all could see themselves as sharing a common heritage, religion, and custom—Roman-ness in other words (Toll 1997:50).

In addition to using Aeneas in this fashion, Vergil also employs other concepts to communicate the idea of Roman-ness: the toga (*Aen*.1.282), the virtues of courage and fortitude (*Aen*.9.603-613), which Numanus articulates in a speech, and the senate (*Aen*.8.105).[48] By anachronistically setting contemporary Roman clothing, values and institutions in the *Aeneid*, Vergil suggests that they predate Rome (Toll 1997:51). This is in keeping with Jupiter's promise to Juno in Book 12; Trojan blood, but Latin customs and language. This quality of explaining the origins of the Romans as the offspring of both Trojans and Italians, together with setting Roman customs and values in the distant past, suggests that the *Aeneid* is more concerned with addressing the Romans than celebrating or criticising Augustus and his new regime (Toll 1997:53).

Although Toll and Syed have not examined the influence of Roman-ness on the animal imagery of the *Aeneid*, I believe there is a strong case for taking Roman-ness into consideration. If the *Aeneid* was concerned with Roman-ness, as Toll and Syed suggest, then it stands to reason that Vergil tailored the epic to address this concern, and in the case of animal imagery it appears that

[48] Ennius express the intimate union between custom and nation: 'The Roman state stands firm on its ancient customs and manhood' (*Ann*.467).

he did. For example, the white sow of Lavinium, which appears three times in the *Aeneid*, must have been deliberately chosen by Vergil because of the great symbolic value it held in Roman mythology and history.[49] The white sow is first mentioned in Book 3 when Aeneas and the Trojans reach the city of Buthrotum, the home of King Helenus:

> When troubled, you will come to the waters of a secluded river and there you will find lying under oak trees on the riverbank a huge white sow, reclining on the ground after having given birth to a litter of thirty, all of them white like her, gathered around her teats, that place will be the site of your city, and there you will find true rest from your labours.
>
> (*Aen.*3.389-393)

Before reaching Helenus, the Trojans had first attempted to settle in Thrace (*Aen*.3.14-18), but the sight of 'blood oozing from the roots of a tree' (*Aen*.3.27-31), led them to quickly abandon the site. Thereafter they sailed to Crete and again tried to found a new home (*Aen*.3.130-135), but 'a wasting sickness took hold of men, trees and crops' (*Aen*.3.137-139), provoking the Trojans to abandon their hopes yet again. When they finally reached Buthrotum, Helenus' prophecy must have been a godsend, as his words not only explained why their attempts had failed (Italy was their true home, *Aen*.3.381), but also reassured Aeneas and the Trojans that their misery was not in vain—'there you will find true rest from your labours.'

The white sow of Helenus' prophecy is not an invention of Vergil's, as according to legend, the city of Lavinium was founded on the spot where the white sow lay. Varro, writing in 37 BCE, recounts the event saying:

> With regard to this, there is an ancient account that the sow of Aeneas gave birth to thirty white pigs at Lavinium. And so what was foretold did happen, for after thirty years the people of Lavinium founded the town of Alba. Indeed, remains of this sow and her pigs still remain [in Lavinium], for even now there is a bronze statue of them standing for all to see, and the carcass of the mother, which was preserved in brine, is shown by the priests.
>
> *(Rust.2.4.18)*[50]

More than merely retelling the legend, Varro's account emphasises the 'historical veracity' of the event, as contemporary Romans could see the sow's remains in the flesh. In a later account,

[49] The two other occasions in which the white sow appears are in *Aen*.8.43-46 and 8.81-85.
[50] The Latin text of the *Rerum rusticarum* used here is that of G. Georg (1929).

Dionysius of Halicarnassus also draws attention to the legend in his *Roman Antiquities* (ca. 7 BCE):

> On the following day, it is said, the sow brought forth thirty piglets, and within just as many years later, another city was founded by the Trojans in accordance with the oracle.
>
> (*Rom.Ant*.1.56.5)[51]

Like Varro, Dionysius also remarks about the significance of the 'thirty piglets', which they both suggest refers to the thirty year interval between the establishment of Lavinium and the founding of Alba Longa. Although it is not mentioned in the *Aeneid*, Livy (59/64 BCE – 17 CE) recounts the origins of Alba Longa:

> This Ascanius, wherever he was born, and whoever his mother was—it is certain that he was Aeneas' son— left Lavinium, when the people of the city became too numerous, for it was already flourishing and wealthy in those days, to his mother or stepmother, and founded a new city himself below the Alban mountain; the city was called Alba Longa on account of its position, as it was spread out along the ridge of the mountain. The interval between the founding of Lavinium and the establishment of the colony at Alba Longa was about thirty years.
>
> (*Ab.Urb.Con*.1.3.3-4)[52]

Livy also mentions the passing of thirty years before the founding of Alba Longa. Moreover, he ventures to explain the reason behind the city's name, which literally means 'Long White [City]'. In turn, Alba Longa was to be home of Romulus and Remus, the founding fathers of Rome, who through Ascanius were descended from Aeneas himself.

The significance of the white sow of Lavinium in the *Aeneid* would not have been lost on Vergil's contemporary Roman audience. The historical works of Varro, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy, illustrate that the legend of the white sow was a well-established part of Roman history and mythology.[53] Vergil's inclusion of the legend in the *Aeneid* is therefore a clear indication that his Roman audience was never far from the poet's mind. Roman-ness is thus an important aspect to consider in any study of the *Aeneid* as it effects not only the interpretation of the epic but also has a marked influence on the appearance of certain animals that have a charged symbolic value.

[51] The Greek text of the *Antiquitates Romanae* is that of E. Cary (1960).
[52] The Latin text of the *Ab Urbe Condita* is that edited by B. Foster (1967).
[53] The white sow continued to enjoy a prominent position in the Roman mythical landscape. Both Vespasian (9 – 79 CE) and Titus (39 – 81 CE) issued coins depicting the legend, as did Antoninus Pius (86 – 161 CE), who in 148 CE minted coins bearing the image to commemorate Rome's 900th anniversary (Duncan 1948:22).

The influence of Roman-ness on animal imagery will be thoroughly dealt with in Chapters 2 through 6 of the present thesis.[54]

[54] In addition to the white sow, some other animals, such as the dove, eagle and she-wolf, also held a prominent position in the Roman cultural milieu.

1.7 Methodology

The purpose of this study is to present an analysis of seven animal species in the *Aeneid* by studying them in a cohesive and integrated manner. To achieve this, I have approached the text of the *Aeneid* from a philological perspective, which assumes that the *Aeneid* is part of an epic tradition that began with Homer, but—existing scholarship has demonstrated—that it also stands on its own with unique themes, imagery and motifs which suggest Vergil's specific purpose with the work, and furthermore has a strong message for the contemporary Roman audience.

As the literature review has illustrated, despite a growing interest in animal-focused studies amongst classical scholars the function of animal imagery in the *Aeneid* and its effects on the interpretation of the epic has not been investigated in-depth. For this reason, I have made a close reading of all twelve books of the *Aeneid* and compiled the corpus of 450 references to animals in the epic, which is represented in the appendix. This corpus together with a close reading of selected passages from Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Aristotle's *History of Animals*, Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, as well as some other primary sources, form the basis of the material for this study.[55]

Having collected all the data, I identified seven species that provide the best examples of Vergil's use of animal imagery to illustrate how the poet aligned his animal imagery with the larger themes and motifs of the epic. Chapters 2 to 6 will be dedicated to examining these seven species. These chapters will form the main body of this thesis, and, more importantly, will give a detailed analysis of each species. This will illuminate the unique role and function of animals in the *Aeneid*.

The findings of Chapters 2 to 6 will be amalgamated in a concluding chapter, Chapter 7. In this chapter I shall argue that a thematic understanding of animal images, as illustrated in the preceding chapters, may shed new light on the *Aeneid* as a literary work written for a Roman audience.

[55] Some of the other primary sources which I consulted include: Varro's *On Farming*, edited by Georg and Keil (1929), Lucretius' *On the Nature of Things*, edited by Bailey (1947), Catullus' *Carmina*, edited by Borzsák (1984), Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*, edited by Seaton (1919), and Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, edited by Jones (1918).

Chapter 2: The Snake

Chapters 2 to 6 each deal with a specific animal. For each chapter, I shall begin by examining what cultural and scientific beliefs were held about the individual animals. After establishing an animal's place in the larger Greco-Roman cultural/scientific sphere, I shall then look at their individual appearances in the *Aeneid*, and analyse these scenes. In doing so, I shall illustrate how Vergil often differed from earlier epicists in his characterisation of animals to express concepts and feelings particular to his contemporary Rome. After analysing the animal with in the *Aeneid*, I shall provide concluding remarks to the relevant chapter.

2.1 Cultural and Scientific Beliefs

The ancient Greeks associated snakes with Asclepius, the god of healing (Stafford 2007:80). At the god's chief sanctuary of Epidaurus, sacred snakes inhabited the *temenos*, the sacred precinct of the temple (Dignas 2007:168). People afflicted with illnesses would spend the night in the god's sanctuary, hoping to be visited by one of Asclepius' sacred snakes since it was believed a lick of their tongue could heal (Dignas 2007:170). In *Plutus* Aristophanes (446 – 386 BCE) refers to this belief when he narrates that snakes cured the protagonist Plutus' blindness:

> Cario: Then Panacea covered [Plutus'] head and face with a red cloth; next the god, Asclepius, smacked his lips, and two enormous snakes came rushing out of the temple.
>
> Wife: 'O good heavens!'
>
> Cario: They slipped quietly underneath the red cloth and, as far as I could see, licked Plutus' eyelids; and, mistress, before you could have even drained ten beakers of wine, Plutus stood and saw. Then I raised my hands and clapped them together in delight, and woke up my master; within a flash, the god and his serpents vanished in the temple.
>
> (*Plut*.730-740)[56]

The theme on which *Plutus* turns is the age-old problem of why the dishonest prosper, while the honourable suffer. Aristophanes answers the question with a jest: Wealth (Plutus) must be blind. The scene in which Plutus' sight is restored takes place in the temple of Asclepius and although rather comical, closely resembles what we know concerning the healing rituals at Epidaurus. It seems likely that the sacred snakes at Epidaurus were trained to 'lick with their forked tongue'

[56]The Greek text of Aristophanes' *Plutus* is that edited by Hall and Geldart (1907).

any afflicted part of the patients (Caton 1898: 1573). Pausanias (110 – 180 CE) records that the sacred serpents were fed at the temple, while also remarking that they were feared.[57] A sacred snake was also said to inhabit the Athenian Acropolis and was fed on honey-cakes; Herodotus (484 – 425 BCE) seems unconvinced:

> The Athenians say that a great serpent lives in the temple and guards the Acropolis; they say this and even lay out monthly offerings for the serpent as if it really dwelt there; and the offering is a honey-cake.
>
> (*Hist*.8.41.2)[58]

In spite of Herodotus' scepticism, the serpent of the Acropolis was believed to exist. It was known as the οἰκουρὸς ὄφις, the 'household-snake' and was sacred to Athena (Harrison 1962:267). The temple in which the serpent dwelt was most likely the Erechtheum, which naturally calls to mind the legend of Erechtheus, the half-snake, half-man ancestor of Athens (Harrison 1962:267). The honey-cakes, Jennison argues, were unlikely to have been eaten by snakes but rather by mice, which the snakes fed on (1937:20).

The Greeks were not alone in their encounter with sacred snakes, for in 291 BCE a plague in Rome necessitated the introduction of Aesculapius' cult[59] as Livy says:

> When a plague was troubling the citizens of Rome (291 BCE), ambassadors who were sent to convey a statue of Aesculapius from Epidaurus to Rome, brought a snake, which of itself had boarded their ship, and in which the god himself was agreed to be present. After the [snake] went ashore on the island of the Tiber, a temple was dedicated to Aesculapius on the same spot.
>
> (*Ab*.*Urb*.*Cond*.Periocha 11)[60]

Livy's account suggests that when the snake went ashore on the Tiber Island, this was taken as a sign that the god wished his temple to be founded there.[61] The island was eventually shaped to resemble a ship in commemoration of the arrival of Aesculapius in his form as a sacred serpent (James 1967:241). Like the temple of Epidaurus, sacred snakes also lived within the precinct of the Tiber Island shrine, where their presence was believed to cure illness (Renberg 2007: 101).

---

[57] Pausanias, *Grae*.*Desc*.2.11.8: 'They are unwilling to go among the sacred serpents out of fear, but placing the serpents' food in front of the entrance, they take no further trouble.' From the Greek text of Jones (1918).
[58] From the Greek text of Godley (1920).
[59] The Latin name for the Greek Asclepius.
[60] From the Latin text of Foster (1967).
[61] Ovid gives a similar account: *Fasti* 1.290-294.

Although the Romans, like the Greeks, held Aesculapius' serpents in high regard for their healing properties, both cultures recognised their ominous side too. Herodotus recounts:

> The Neuri keep to Scythian customs, but one generation before the expedition of Darius, they were forced to abandon their land because of snakes; for their land produced a great many snakes, and more fell upon them from the wastes of the north, until the Neuri were so distressed that they left their country and settled in the land of the Budini.[62]
>
> (*Hist*.4.105.1)

Herodotus' account shows that snakes could drive an entire tribe from their native land. This stands in stark contrast to the positive view of sacred serpents mentioned previously. In a similar vein, Pliny also narrates the dangers of snakes if they become too numerous, saying:

> The Aesculapian snake was brought to Rome from Epidaurus, and is commonly reared even in our homes; unless their eggs were destroyed in fires it would not be possible to halt the spread of them over the earth.
>
> *(Nat.Hist.29.22.72)*

The snakes could easily become a nuisance and the population had to be controlled so that the Romans could avoid being overrun, as in the case of what happened to the Neuri or to the city of Amynclae: 'in Italy Amynclae was utterly destroyed by snakes' (*Nat*.*Hist*.8.43.104). We should not be quick to disregard Herodotus and Pliny's comments as infestations of snakes are not unknown in the modern world. In 2015 the Brooks family of Annapolis had to evacuate their home as it was overrun with 'black rat snakes' (Bittel 2015). Even more recently in 2019, the Burlington County Community Action Program in Willingboro had to close its doors on Friday evening 11 January because 'snakes were slithering in the halls and offices' (6 ABC Action News 2019).

In spite of the dangers of snake infestations, snakes were kept in ancient households because they kept mice and other vermin at bay (Lazenby 1949a:248). Pliny confirms this when he says: '[the snake] is commonly reared even in our homes' (*Nat*.*Hist*.29.22.72). Lazenby suggests the house-snake, which Pliny mentions, was seen as the guardian of the *penus* ('pantry') of Roman homes (1949:248). This aspect bears a close similarity to the ἀγαθὸς δαίμων ('Good Spirit') of the Greek household, which is commonly depicted as a 'coiled snake surrounded by emblems of

[62] The Neuri, to whom Herodotus refers were a Baltic-speaking tribe who lived north of modern day Vinnytsia (Ukraine) on the banks of the Hypanis River (Southern Bug River) (Boardman, Edwards and Hammond 1991:585). The Budini were a Scythian people who inhabited the town of Gelonus, which is thought to have been built on the Don River in modern day Ukraine (Boardman, Edwards and Hammond 1991:554).

fertility' (Harrison 1962:277). Pliny touches on the guardian aspect of the snake when he recounts a tale about Scipio Africanus:

> An olive-tree, planted by the hand of Africanus the Elder on his estate at Literninum, and a myrtle-tree of remarkable size in the same spot, still live—under the trees is a cavern in which a snake is said to guard Africanus' shade.
>
> (*Nat.Hist*.16.85.235)

This tale emphasises a close link between the snake and guardianship of the shades of the dead, which, as I shall later show, Vergil picks up on in *Aeneid* 5.84-94. In addition to the admiration of snakes as healers and protectors, snakes were also the object of fascination as when Augustus exhibited a particularly large specimen in the Comitium[63]:

> If anything new and worth seeing had been brought to Rome, [Augustus] was accustomed, even on days when no spectacles were appointed, to make an extraordinary exhibition of it in any suitable place. For example a rhinoceros in the Saepta, a tiger on the stage and a snake fifty cubits long in front of the Comitium.[64]
>
> (Suet.*Aug*.43.4)[65]

So far I have largely dealt with the religious and cultural associations of snakes, but Aristotle ventures some remarks about the nature of snakes. In Book 1 of his *History of Animals*, Aristotle contrasts the character of various animals (1.1.488b15). The ox, he says is 'sluggish and good-tempered', while the wild boar is 'quick-tempered and ferocious', however of the snake he says: 'other [animals] are treacherous and scheming, such as the snake' (*Hist.Anim*.1.1.488b15). [66] The snake, as Aristotle suggests, is notorious for its sly and treacherous (dangerous?) nature. In Rome, the dangerous nature of snakes caught the attention of Cicero who says: 'Can it be that any virtuous men could ever have lovingly clutched that venomous and deadly viper to their bosom?' (*Har*.24.50).[67]

[63] Other emperors also kept snakes; Tiberius had a pet snake which he fed from his own hand (Suet.*Tib*.72.2), and Elagabalus kept small Egyptian snakes (Hist.Aug.*Elagabalus*.28.3).
[64] The Saepta Julia was constructed in the Campius Martius and completed in 26 BCE by Agrippa (Platner and Ashby 1929: 460). It was originally intended as a voting precinct but under the Empire, it was used for public spectacles (Platner and Ashby 1929: 460). The Comitium was a large open space where the citizens of Rome assembled for important political and judicial activities (Platner and Ashby 1929: 134).
[65] From the Latin text of Rolfe (1979).
[66] The Greek text of the *Historia Animalium* is that edited by Peck (1965).
[67] From the Latin text of Clark and Peterson (1901-1911).

Even in the contemporary world, snakes are still viewed with such hostility that, unlike other hunted animals, they do not enjoy protected rights from being hunted to extinction (Stutesman 2005:9). The hostility seems to be deeply rooted in humankind, as D. H. Lawrence expresses in his poem *Snake* (1923):

> *The voice of my education said to me / He must be killed, / For in Sicily the black, black snakes are innocent, the gold are venomous. / And voices in me said, If you were a man / You would take a stick and break him now, and finish him off.*
>
> (*Snake*.22-26)

Humankind has clearly had an ambivalent relationship with serpents for millennia. This section has illustrated that, as their modern counterparts, ancient attitudes to snakes evoked feelings of admiration, fascination or fear. At one extreme snakes were seen as healers, protectors of the *penus*, and guardians of the dead, while at the other end, they were recognised as venomous, treacherous, dangerous and destructive. These conflicted views surrounding snakes are both evident and telling in the *Aeneid*, to which I now turn.

2.2 Snakes in *Aeneid* 2

The first appearance of serpents in the *Aeneid* is in the description of the fate of Laocoon and his sons (*Aen*.2.199-227). This episode is one of the events of the epic's narrative leading up to the fall of Troy. The story of Laocoon does not appear in the *Iliad*, but the now lost epic by Arctinus (ca. 8th century BCE), *Iliuperis*, did mention the tale (Mynors 1961: 479) as did some other literary works.[68] Vergil's treatment of the Laocoon tale is one of the most memorable episodes in the entire *Aeneid*:

> Laocoon, who had been chosen by lot to be a priest of Neptune, was sacrificing a huge bull at the god's appointed altar. When, at that very moment—I tremble to recall it—a pair of gigantic coiling snakes slithered across the sea from Tenedos through the calm deep, and made for the shore side by side. Their necks were raised high above the surf and their blood-red crests towered over the waves; their bodies trailed behind on the sea, while with the roar of the foaming sea their backs curved in endless coils. They had now reached the shore, and with blazing eyes, tinged with blood and fire, they licked their hissing jaws with quivering tongues. White with fright, we scattered at the sight; with unswerving course they rushed to Laocoon. First each snake grasped one of his two sons, entwined their slender bodies, and bit, and devoured their poor limbs. Next they took hold of Laocoon, who hurried, weapons in hand, to aid his sons; they bound him in massive coils. Twice they encircled his waist, and twice they wound their scaly bodies around his neck, yet their heads and necks still towered high above him. While he tried to tear the knots apart with his hands, his priestly headband became drenched with gore and black venom; he at the same time raised a dreadful shout to the heavens, like the bellowing of a bull when he shakes off the ill-aimed axe from his neck and flees wounded from the altar. The two serpents now escaped, and made for the citadel, slithering away to the high sanctuary of cruel Minerva, where they hid themselves under the goddess' feet and round shield.
>
> (*Aen*.2.201-227)

Prior to this, Laocoon had expressed his concerns in the now infamous words: 'Trojans, never trust that horse. Whatever it is, I fear the Greeks, even when they bring gifts' (*Aen*.2.48-49). To make his point clear, Laocoon hurls his spear at the hollow horse trying to expose the Greek's trickery (*Aen*.2.50-53), but like Cassandra's his warning falls on deaf ears.[69] To make matters worse Sinon, a Greek defector tells the Trojans that the wooden horse is sacred to Minerva

[68] Bacchylides also mentioned Laocoon in a now lost ode and Sophocles' wrote a drama bearing Laocoon's name of which only fragments remain (Mynors 1961: 479).
[69] Aeneas expresses regret that if only the Trojans had heeded Laocoon's warning, Troy would not have fallen (*Aen*.2.54-55).

(*Aen*.2.183-184) and that if brought into Troy, the Trojans will be invincible (*Aen*.2.189-194). Laocoon's reticence and attack on the sacred object mark him as a character obstructing the fall of Troy and by implication Greek victory; his death requires divine intervention, sent by Minerva in the form of monstrous snakes.

When the episode begins, Laocoon, a Trojan priest of Neptune, is sacrificing a bull, but the ritual is interrupted by the appearance of twin snakes on the shore. In as much as the serpents break off Laocoon's sacrificial rite, they also come to dominate the entire passage with their size and ferocity. Vergil accentuates the monstrous size of the creatures by describing them in parts: the size of their coils, their necks (*pectora*, *Aen*.2.206*)* towering above the surf, their bodies trailing behind (*pars cetera*, *Aen*.2.207), and the endless coils of their backs (*tegra*, *Aen*.2.208). On reaching the shore, the viciousness of the twin serpents is emphasised by their eyes blazing with blood and fire (210), their hissing jaws and quivering tongues (211). The snakes are not only huge and vicious, but also intelligent and purposeful (Bodoh 1987:270). They make for Laocoon with an unswerving course (212-213), indicating their purpose. Their intelligence is marked by their attacking first his sons, helpless babes in the woods, since the serpents know that the father will rush to their aid, exposing himself to danger (Bodoh 1987:270).

As Laoccon dies he bellows like a bull (224), inviting a comparison with the bull he was in the process of sacrificing on the shore (201). It would seem that Laocoon has lost Neptune's favour—he had already angered Minerva—for his sacrifice is interrupted and his priestly headband (*vittas*, *Aen*.2.221) offers no protection, becoming bloodied instead. In a tragic twist, it is now Laocoon who becomes a surrogate sacrificial victim, bellowing like the actual victim he attempted to sacrifice (Hartigan 1973:232). Their task accomplished, the serpents retreat to the temple of Minerva and hide beneath the feet of her statue (226-227). The snakes return to the one who sent them, confirming that Laocoon's death was ordained by Minerva.

At first glance there is nothing to suggest that the serpents are symbolic; they exist to kill Laocoon and his sons, thus removing a character who may have barred the entry of the wooden horse into Troy, as well as furthering the epic's plot (Knox 1950:382). However, as Knox notes, the serpent incident is tinged with symbolism. For like the Greeks, who are in hiding on Tenedos (*Aen*.2.24), the serpents also sail over the sea from the same island (Knox 1950:382). The snakes are *gemini* (*Aen*.2.203) which is evocative of the *gemini Atridae* (*Aen*.2.415; 500), the brother-generals of the Greek forces, Agamemnon and Menelaus (Bodoh 1987:270). The fate that befalls Laocoon and his sons, is a vivid foreshadowing of Troy's destruction. Since Laocoon stands in the way of Greek success, his destruction by the twin serpents is a definite sign that he and the Trojans have been

abandoned by the gods in favour of a Greek victory.[70] Knowing this, the twin serpents can been seen as symbols of Greek violence, deception and success (Knox 1950:384, Putnam 1965:20 and Rose 1983:117).

After Laocoon's death, the wooden horse is brought into Troy (*Aen*.2.234-240), sealing the city's fate. It is at this point that Aeneas and some fellow Trojans attempt to repel the invaders by disguising themselves in Greek armour (*Aen*.2.371-372). Androgeos, a Greek, is the first to fall into their trap, and it is during this episode that the snake next appears (*Aen*.2. 378-382). The Androgeos simile is modelled on a simile from the *Iliad*; although the situation is similar, Vergil's rendering is strikingly different.

In the *Iliad*, Homer narrates how after Menelaus has leapt down from his chariot—he means business—Paris recoils like a man catching sight of a lurking snake:

> But when godlike Paris observed him as he appeared among the champions, his heart was struck with fear, and back he fell into the company of his companions, avoiding fate. Just as when a man seeing a snake in the glens of a mountain draws backwards, and trembling takes hold of his limbs, he retreats, and the pale hue of fear flushes his cheeks. So did godlike Paris, fearing Menelaus, sink back into the throng of lordly Trojans.
>
> (*Il*.3.30-37)

The mere sight of Menelaus is enough to make Paris turn tail. The simile concisely captures Paris' reasonable response; he is no match for Menelaus (Kirk 1985:270). The subject of the simile is an unnamed man who spies a snake hiding in a secluded/wooded mountain vale.[71] The man clearly and correctly interprets the snake as a threat: his legs give way, he recoils and his cheeks become white. The focus of the simile is on the man's perspective of the snake as a threat. The snake is not described as taking any action against its perceived threat, the anonymous man. Homer presents the snake as simply representing lurking danger.

In contrast, Vergil's handling of the same subject is noticeably different:

> He was startled, and held his voice and stepped back; like a man who, while stepping on the ground, treads on an unseen snake, lying among thornbushes. He shrinks back in fear as the snake

[70] Vergil himself says that this is the case: 'Indeed such an unheard-of panic crept into every trembling heart. It was said that Laocoon deserved to pay for his crime when he damaged the sacred wood with his spear, hurling it at the horse's back' (*Aen*.2.228-231).
[71] The anonymous person may be a shepherd (Kirk 1985:270).

> rises in anger and puffs out its dark-blue neck; just so did Androgeos, trembling at the sight, step back.
>
> (*Aen.*2.378-382)

The first striking difference is that whereas Homer's Paris (*Il*.3.30-37) is likened to a man who almost steps on a snake, Vergil's Androgeos is compared to a man who actually tramples on a snake. The second is that unlike Homer's snake, Vergil's snake responds quickly to its unwelcomed interloper: *attollentem iras et caerula colla tumentem* (*Aen*.2.381)—a natural response to being disturbed. Vergil's depiction of the snake's reaction suggests that the poet considered how a real snake would respond in a similar situation, and adapted his simile to reflect a truer image of the creature.[72] By considering the threat itself, a third difference between Homer and Vergil emerges. Androgeos is in greater danger than Paris and has no escape. The rising snake recalls the Laocoon snakes and suggests to the reader that Androgeos would also meet his end soon. Paris' fate, by contrast, was still open-ended.

Androgeos and Laocoon are somehow alike; their likeness is revealed by the snake simile. The first Trojan victim was killed by serpents, and so is the first Greek victim. In the Androgeos scene, however, the image of the snake does not represent Greek but Trojan violence (Rose 1983:117). Aeneas and his Trojans now assume (by putting on Greek armour, *Aen*.2.371-372) the violence of the serpent to which they are compared, while at the same time they take on another characteristic of the serpent, *inprovisum* ('concealment') (Knox 1950:392). Knox and Hornsby interpret the Androgeos episode as a critique of Aeneas who himself admits that his action is hopeless; this is emphasised by the emotional despair of his words to his men (*Aen*.2.348-354) and the comparison of his companions to a pack of wolves (*Aen*.2.355-358) (Knox 1950:392; Hornsby 1970:12, 51).[73] The implication in the Androgeos scene is that Aeneas has adopted the violent and deceptive qualities of the snake, which reminds the reader how far Aeneas has strayed from his duty, which is to flee, and not fight (Knox 1950:392). It is therefore through snake imagery that the reader makes this link and sees that Aeneas also has the capacity for deception and violence.

[72] Ogilvy notes that Homer most often employs snakes as a literary device in omens or in contexts suggesting war (1972:50). A similar snake simile appears in Aen.5.273-279, and here once again, Vergil focuses on the snake's reaction: see below.
[73] The wolves-men simile will be treated in section 5.3 below.

By the time Pyrrhus enters the story (Aen.2.469), the violence of Book 2 has reached its climax and Aeneas' attempt to fight back has failed. Pyrrhus stands at the entrance of Priam's place where he gleams in the lustre of bronze:

> In front of the entrance-hall, (and) at the front door of the place, appeared Pyrrhus, with glittering weapons of burnished bronze; like a snake which during a cold winter hid underground and gorged itself on poisonous weeds, but now emerging into the light, it sheds its scales, becoming shining fresh and young, and raising its breast high to the sun, it curves its slimy back, and from its mouth darts a three-forked tongue.'
>
> (*Aen.*2.469-475)

Like his rendering of the snake in the Androgeos scene, Vergil has also emphasised the snake's behaviour: it raises its breast (474-475), curves its back (475). However, the Pyrrhus-snake also appears more threatening and dangerous: it is stuffed with poisonous herbs (471), it is fresh (473)—ready to attack— and its tongue eagerly darts forth from its mouth (475). This more potent snake perfectly suits Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, who is violence incarnate: the verbs of lines Aen.2.480-490 describing him make this clear, *perrumpit* ('force through'), *vellit* ('tear away'), *cavavit* ('gash out') and *instat* ('press on'). By implication Pyrrhus reminds one of the twin serpents that killed Laocoon too. For like the *gemini*, Pyrrhus kills Polites before his father, Priam (*Aen*.2.526-532), and then the father (*Aen*.2.544); like them, Pyrrhus also kills his victims at an altar (*Aen*.2.663).[74] Taken together, the snakes of Book 2, are representative of violence, deception and Greek success. When Aeneas briefly adopts the Greek-snake mantle it ends in failure. Aeneas is no Greek and thus no snake; Pyrrhus the real serpent waits at the doors of Priam's palace (Knox 1950: 392).

[74] Knox (1950: 393), Putnam (1965:36) and Rose (1983:118), also note these striking parallels.

2.3 Snakes in *Aeneid* 4

Book 4 narrates the tragedy of Dido, who is perhaps the most memorable and influential character of the entire *Aeneid* (Ganiban et al 2012:323).[75] The love affair between Dido and Aeneas, foreshadowed in Book 1, becomes real by the beginning of Book 4 only to unravel towards the end of the book. Aeneas is compelled by Jupiter (*Aen*.4.173-295) to leave Carthage and continue his quest. Dido, in turn rages passionately against Aeneas' decision to leave (*Aen*.4.296-392), but he remains unmoved. Dido then reconciles herself to death, saying: 'then wretched Dido, struck with terror at her fate, only prays for death' (*Aen*.4.450). Her resolve is strengthened by dreams in which she is abandoned or pursued by Aeneas, like Orestes is chased by his snake-wielding mother in tragedies:

> In Dido's dreams, cruel Aeneas pursues her, driving her mad with fear; to herself she seems ever abandoned and alone, and friendless as she travels a long road searching for Tyrians in a deserted land. She was like Pentheus when, out of his mind, he saw the ranks of the Eumenides, and twin suns and two Thebes appeared to him. Or like the son of Agamemnon, Orestes, hounded across the stage when he flees his mother armed with torches and black snakes, while the avenging Furies wait at the door.
>
> (*Aen*.4.465-473)

Dido dreams that in her fury (*furentem*, *Aen*.4.465), Aeneas (*ferus*, *Aen*.4.466) pursues her. She flees alone (*sola*, *Aen*.4.467) and wanders friendless (*incomitata*, *Aen*.4.467) in search of Tyrians who have also abandoned her (at *Aen*.4.321 Dido refers to the Tyrians as her enemies—*infensi Tyrii*—because they did not approve of her relationship with Aeneas). Her poignant dream is complemented by the two similes of Pentheus and Orestes. Pentheus, a king of Thebes is driven mad for refusing to worship Bacchus and as a result sees 'two suns and two Thebes' (Ganiban et al 2012:353).[76] The Orestes Dido is likened to, is Orestes of Greek tragedy as *scaenis* (471) implies (Schiesaro 2008:194). Vergil may have thought of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, where Orestes describes to Pylades the viper-fringed dragon of Hades:

[75] Dido's story continued to enjoy popularity among later Roman authors such as Ovid (43 BCE -17 CE), who in *Epistula* 7 of his *Heroides*, presents a feigned letter from Dido to Aeneas, written just before she kills herself on the pyre. In the 18th century Dido continued to enjoy popularity as a tragic character in *opera seria*. Metastasio's libretto, *Didone abbandonata*, first written in 1724 (Scholes 1955:636) for the Teatro di San Bartolomeo in Naples was set to music by more than fifty different composers of which Johann Hasse's 1742 version is perhaps the most renowned (Kranabetter 2013:4).
[76] See Euripides' *Bacchae* 918-919.

> Orestes: 'Pylades, do you see her? Do you not see Hades' dragon, how she wants to kill me, fringed with her terrible vipers against me? And another who breaths fire and threatens slaughter from her robe as she flaps her wings while holding my mother in her arms—what a rocky mass she hurls at me!'
>
> (Eur.*IT*.285-290)[77]

In Vergil's version, it is Orestes' mother, Clytemnestra who wields the black snakes (*serpentibus atris*, *Aen*.4.472), while in Euripides, Orestes speaks of the dragon (Eumenides) as attacking him with her vipers (ἐχίδναις, *IT*.287), and Clytemnestra in her arms. The snakes in Vergil's Orestes' simile form part of the mise en scène. By placing them in Clytemnestra's hands, Vergil leaves no doubt in the reader's mind that Clytemnestra is an actual Fury, for when a Fury is about, snakes are never far away.[78] The Pentheus and Orestes similes therefore complement the logic of Dido's dream (Schiesaro 2008:202). Dido is cast in the role of the victims Pentheus and Orestes, while Aeneas plays the role of pursuer, like the Eumenides, Clytemnestra and the Furies. This invites the reader to see Dido as a tragic figure, relentlessly hounded by powerful forces, while at the same time pursued to the point of madness.[79]

Fortified by her nightmares, Dido is determined to kill herself but fearing to tell her sister Anna the truth, she lies saying: 'I have found a way, dear sister—rejoice with me!—to bring him back to me or release me from loving him' (*Aen*.4.478-479). The success of Dido's ruse depends on a Massylian priestess, a powerful enchantress, who guards the temple of the Hesperides with the help of a snake:[80]

> I have been told of a Massylian priestess who lives there and is guardian of the temple of the Hesperides. She gave the snake its food, which she sprinkled with liquid honey and sleep-bringing poppies, and she protected the sacred boughs of the tree.
>
> (*Aen*.4.483-486)

The snake (*draconi*, *Aen*.4.484) is induced to protect the temple of the Hesperides by being fed dainties, but the addition of sleep-bringing poppies (*soporiferumque papaver*, *Aen*.4.486) is rather peculiar; for if the priestess' object is to keep the snake awake, why would she drug it? A possible explanation may be that Vergil has conflated two passages from Apollonius' *Argonautica*: 4.1395-

[77] From the Greek text of *Euripidis Fabulae* by Murray (1913).
[78] The Fury, Allecto who appears in Book 7 of the *Aeneid* is closely associated with snakes.
[79] The pursuit echoes the image of Aeneas as hunter in the deer simile of *Aen*.4.68-73.
[80] Vergil has chosen to represent the garden of the Hesperides as a temple, he may have meant 'sacred enclosure' (Ganiban et al 2012:354).

1449, where Hercules kills the snake guarding the apples of the Hesperides, and 4.156-159 where Medea drugs the serpent protecting the Golden Fleece (Nelis 2001:142). The priestess, it would seem, drugs the snake not out of fear but rather to ensure it remains within the precinct of the temple without wandering off (Ganiban et al 2012:354). Although the role of the serpent is relatively insignificant, its absence would be conspicuous since the snake's association with the Hesperides goes back to at least as far as Hesiod's *Theogony*:

> And Ceto, united in love to Phorcys, bore her youngest son, a terrible serpent, who keeps watch over the all-golden apples in the depths of the dark earth at its great limits.
>
> (*Theog*.333-335)

The 2nd century CE geographer Pausanias records that while visiting the sanctuary at Olympia he saw artworks depicting the snake of the Hesperides in the treasuries of the Epidamnians:

> It contains a depiction of the vault of the sky being held up by Atlas, and also of Hercules and the apple tree alongside the Hesperides, with the serpent coiled around the tree. These artworks are of cedar-wood and are the works of Theocles, son of Hegylus.
>
> (*Grae*.*Desc*.6.19.8)

The cedar-wood representations were antique even in Pausanias' day as Theocles was active during the mid-6th century BCE (Neudecker 2006). This together with the passage from Hesiod, attest to the long tradition of the snake's presence in the garden of the Hesperides. Although Vergil appears to have produced a new version of the story, the snake's mere presence suggests that Vergil was well versed in mythological lore, and that it was never far from his mind when composing the *Aeneid*. The snakes of Book 4 are frightening and their close association with Dido not only make tangible her utter despair but also foreshadow her death.

2.4 Snakes in *Aeneid* 5

The snakes of Book 5 are noticeably different from their earlier counterparts in Book 2, where snakes are symbolically aligned with destruction, deception and Greek success. The snakes in Book 5 echo Homeric snakes which are repeatedly associated with foreboding omens, warlike similes and instruments of war. For example, when Homer recounts that Cinyras, the king of Cyprus, presented a cuirass to Agamemnon as a gift (*Il*.11.19-22), he describes its serpentine decoration:

> Therefore [Cinyras] gave a [breastplate] to honour King Agamemnon. Indeed on it were ten layers of dark-blue enamel, and twelve of gold and twenty of tin: and also depicted were dark-blue serpents stretching out towards the breastplate's neck, three on each side.
>
> (*Il*.11.23-27)

Likewise, Agamemnon's shield-strap also sports serpentine imagery:

> And from his [shield] a belt decorated with silver hung, on which there was a depiction of a dark blue serpent coiling, that had, coming out of the same neck, three heads turned in every direction.
>
> (*Il*.11.38-40)

Both of Agamemnon's war instruments display snakes, suggesting that the serpent held some symbolic meaning to him (Hainsworth and Kirk 1993:219). The serpents may serve to inspire fear in his enemies, complementing the other figures of his shield: the Gorgon (*Il*.11.36) and the twin sons of Ares, Terror and Fear (*Il*.11.37).[81] Homer makes another reference to the snake when he describes Hector waiting for Achilles to approach:

> But [Hector] stood firm as mighty Achilles drew nearer. And as a mountain-snake that lies in wait for a man at its lair, having eaten poisonous herbs, and filled with fearful anger, he looks terrible as he coils around his lair; just so Hector, possessing unquenchable courage, did not retreat, and rested his shining shield upon a projecting tower.
>
> (*Il*.22.93-98)

Hector is compared to a venomous (βεβρωκὼς κακὰ φάρμακ, *Il*.22.95) and angry (ἔδυ δέ τέ μιν χόλος αἰνός, *Il*.22.95) snake waiting at its hole to strike a man. This passage together with the

[81] Recall the anonymous man in the simile at *Il*.3.33-36 who recoils at the sight of a snake. The serpentine decoration may likewise inspire fear on the field of battle. Hesiod suggests as much when he describes Hercules' shield: 'and on the [shield] were the heads of twelve snakes, an unspeakable sight; and they used to strike the tribes of men on the earth with fear' (*Aspis*.161-162). From Evelyn-White's text (1914).

Paris-snake simile (*Il*.3.30-37) and the serpentine ornamentation of Agamemnon's cuirass (*Il*.11.23-27) and shield-strap (*Il*.11.38-40), imply the same view of snakes as dangerous and vicious creatures (Richardson and Kirk 1993:116).[82] The negative aspect comes across strongly in Book 2, when Odysseus recounts the events surrounding a sacrifice that occurred in Aulis not too long ago (*Il*.2.301-307):

> Then a great omen appeared: a snake with a blood-red back and terrible to behold, which Olympian Zeus had sent into the light of day, slithered from under the altar and then darted to the plane tree. In the tree were the chicks of a sparrow, little nestlings, lying under leaves on the highest branch. There were eight of them, and the mother that gave birth to them was the ninth. Then as the snake was devouring them, they cried haplessly while their mother was fluttering around them, wailing for her dear children; yet he still coiled himself and seized her by the wing as she flew screaming about. After the snake had eaten the sparrow's chicks and the mother as well, the god, who had revealed him, made him disappear; for Zeus, the son of crafty Cronos turned him to stone; we stood there and marvelled at what happened. When the fearful portent intruded upon the sacrifices to the gods, Calchas quickly prophesied and addressed us, saying: 'Why are you so quiet, long-haired Achaeans? Zeus the all-wise has shown us this great sign. We have been expecting it for a long time and we shall have to wait for it to be fulfilled but the auspices of the omen will never perish. Just as the snake ate the sparrow's chicks and the mother, eight in all and the mother that gave birth to them was the ninth, for so many years shall we wage war with Troy, but in the tenth year we shall take the broad streets of that city.'
>
> (*Il*.2.308-332)

The snake is described in detail: his back is blood-coloured (ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφοινὸς, *Il*.2.308) and he is terrible to look at (σμερδαλέος, *Il*.2.309). His prey, the sparrow-chicks are pitiable creatures that can only make shrill cries (τετριγῶτας, *Il*.2.314) against his attack. Their mother is equally wretched as she flutters around them (ἀμφεποτᾶτο, *Il*.2.315) and echoes their cries (ὀδυρομένη, *Il*.2.315). In addition to eating the eight fledglings, the snake also consumes the mother (ἀτὰρ μήτηρ ἐνάτη ἦν ἣ τέκε τέκνα, *Il*.2.313), which heightens the pathos of the entire scene (Kirk 1985:149). The significance of their deaths is revealed by Calchas: nine years of war with Troy must pass before victory in the tenth year. Homer's use of the snake in this omen—vicious, frightening and foreboding—is consistent with the other snakes of the *Iliad*.

[82] Hartigan notes that there are only two snake similes in the *Iliad*, and in both instances they are connected with Paris and Hector (1973:229).

While Vergil makes plenty of references to frightening and intimidating snakes in *Aeneid* 2, he also went beyond these Homeric representations, expressing more nuanced depictions of the snake that characterise it as a harmless and peaceable creature (Rose 1983:119). The positive aspect of the serpent is poignantly expressed in *Aeneid* 5, where a snake encircles Anchises' tomb after Aeneas has just finished addressing his men:

> He had scarcely spoken these words when a huge snake slithered, slippery, out from the base of the tomb, dragging along its seven-coiled body in seven circles. It gently encircled the tomb and glided over the altars. Blue markings adorned its back, and spots of gleaming gold its scales, like a rainbow hurling a thousand colours on the clouds in front of the sun. Aeneas was astonished at the sight. The snake slithered, dragging its long tail between the bowls and polished beakers. At last, it tasted the sacrificial feast, and having eaten, it left the altars, retreating harmlessly back to the base of the tomb. Aeneas earnestly began the sacrifice to his father again; he did not know if the snake was the guardian spirit of the place or his father's attendant spirit.
>
> (*Aen*.5.84-96)

The hostility of snakes in Book 2 gives way to an entirely different type of snake here. This snake entwines itself gently (*placide*, *Aen*.5.86) in contrast to the violent entwining of Laocoon's sons (*corpora natorum serpens amplexus*, *Aen*.2.214) and himself (*bis medium amplexi*, *Aen*.2.218) by the twin serpents. This snake is also described as harmless (*innoxius*, *Aen*.5.92) as opposed to the venomous Pyrrhus-snake (*coluber mala gramina pastus*, *Aen*.2.471). In addition to describing the snake's behaviour, Vergil also describes the beauty of its skin: the blue markings of its back (*caeruleae cui terga notae*, *Aen*.5.87), the golden hue of its scales (*maculosus et auro squamam*, *Aen*.5.87-88), the union of which glistens like a rainbow in the sun (*ceu nubibus arcus mille iacit varios adverso sole colores*, *Aen*.5.88-89).[83]

Even Aeneas appears to be encouraged by the snake's appearance (*hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores*, *Aen*.5.94), since he recognises this creature as the genius of the spot or his father's attendant spirit (95).[84] The significance of the snake in the tomb scene can be explained by religious opinions about snakes. Toynbee explains that the Greeks and Romans perceived the serpent as a representative of the deceased's spirit (1973:224), while Lazenby (1949a:248) and

[83] Vergil's detailed description is reminiscent of Homer's snake in the omen at *Iliad* 2.308-332, however, there are striking contrasts: Homer's snake is the colour of blood (δράκων ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφοινὸς, *Il*.2.308) and it is a horrible sight to see (σμερδαλέος, *Il*.2.309), whereas Vergil's creature is one of beauty.

[84] The *genius* was considered a tutelary deity of certain locations or persons, and was represented in the form of a serpent (Ganiban et al 2012:377); the *famulus* was also thought to be a serpentine spirit that attended to demigods and heroes (Fratantuono and Smith 2015:200).

Harrison (1962:277) also remark that the protective deities of Greek and Roman households were represented as snakes.[85] Vergil describes the snake as slithering between the libation bowls and eating of the sacrificial feast (91-92) which invites a further connection with the dead Anchises. Harriet Flower explains that snakes were commonly depicted on altars dedicated to a genius (2017:63). The purpose of these snakes was to receive offerings on behalf of the genius (Flower 2017:65). Gardner points out that snakes were also frequently shown on tomb monuments, participating in the funeral banquet (1884:113). These serpentine representations, Gardner argues, are embodiments of the deceased and thus partake of the meal.

By considering the tomb-snake scene of *Aeneid* 5 in this light, its appearance serves as a good omen (it makes the Trojans happy, *laeti Aen*.5.100) and suggests that although Anchises is dead, he will continue to guide and watch over Aeneas (Galinsky 1968:171). Putnam, however, is not convinced, and argues instead that the snake is an omen of doom, foreshadowing the destruction of Aeneas' ships by Iris in *Aeneid* 5.606-609, because the snake's multi-coloured scales echo the rainbow of Iris (1962:233-234).[86] But in the grand scheme of things, the loss is not that disastrous as the Trojans are able to continue their journey (Galinsky 1968:168).[87] I therefore cannot agree with Putnam's view for the snake arrives peacefully, eats, and then returns calmly to the tomb; whether the snake is a guardian or attendant spirit does not matter, Aeneas is pleased at seeing it. Rose also argues that the snake at the tomb is a propitious sign that Aeneas' prospects have improved, a theme that is shared by the ship-snake simile of *Aeneid* 5.270-281 (1983:119):

> When, having only just torn himself away from the cruel rock with much skill, missing some oars and weakened by the loss of one tier, Sergestus sailed his ship in without praise but only laughter. His ship was like a snake, surprised as frequently happens on a causeway, which a bronze wheel has passed over sideways, or which a traveller with the heavy blow of a stone has left half-dead and mangled; haplessly trying to escape, it twists its body in long coils. With burning eyes and hissing neck, the snake fiercely raises one part of its body high; but the other half maimed by the wound holds the snake back as it twists itself into knots and winds back on itself. The ship's oars were in such a state that she moved slowly; yet she hoisted her sails and with full sails she entered the harbour-mouth.

[85] Recall Pliny's account of the guardian serpent that kept watch over Scipio' shade (*Nat.Hist*.16.85.235).
[86] Putnam (1962:211) asserts that there is a certain ambiguity owing to the similarity of the snake in *Aeneid* 5.84-96 and the twin serpents that attack Laocoon in *Aeneid* 2. 201-227; in both instances there is a serpentine embrace, but Laoccon and his sons are victims whereas the snake at the tomb of Anchises is not violent.
[87] Galinsky goes so far as to suggest that the burning of the four ships frees Aeneas of unwilling companions thus enabling him to press on to the successful founding of a city in Italy (1968:170).

(*Aen*.5.270-281)

This simile occurs at the end of a boat race, in which Sergestus' ship is crippled by colliding with rocks (*Aen*.5.201-209).[88] The snake simile succinctly captures the awkward movement of the ship as it reaches the safety of the harbour while at the same time also paints a vivid picture of a snake. The snake is termed *ferox* (*Aen*.5.278) and reacts aggressively to attack: its eyes burn (*ardensque oculis*, *Aen*.5.277), its neck hisses (*sibila colla*, *Aen*.5.277) and it rears its head in anger (*arduus attollens*, *Aen*.5.278). Vergil emphasises the snake's distress by focusing on its vulnerability to pain: it attempts to escape by twisting and turning back on itself (278). At first glance the image of a writhing snake appears somewhat ominous in spite of the laughter (*inrisam*, *Aen*.5.272) that the ship arouses. The snake is half dead (*seminecem*, *Aen*.5.275) and the ship is missing some of its oars and one of its tiers (*amissis remis atque ordine debilis uno*, *Aen*.5.271). The ominous tone is heightened by the resemblance of this snake to the snakes in Book 2: the twin snakes of the Laocoon episode also raise their heads (*Aen*.2.206), as does the snake in the Androgeos scene (*Aen*.2.381) and the Pyrrhus-snake (*Aen*.2.475).

Furthermore the ship-snake simile, like the three snakes of Book 2, also foreshadows loss: the loss of Aeneas' fleet at the hands of Iris (*Aen*.5.604-699) and the loss of the pilot, Palinurus (*Aen*.5.858) (Putnam 1962:216). However, insofar as the ship-snake simile resembles them, it also differs and imparts a sense of hope (like the appearance of the snake at Anchises' tomb, *Aen*.5.84-96): the snake does not die of its injuries and the ship does reach the harbour safely, a feat which Aeneas praises: 'Aeneas, glad that Sergestus had saved the ship and returned his companions safely, presented him with the promised reward' (*Aen*.5.282-283). The ambivalent nature of snakes is thus reflected in the dual significance of the ship-snake simile: it hints at a coming loss (the ships and Palinurus), yet also foreshadows the Trojans' safe arrival in Italy—albeit with a loss of some lives (Rose 1983:121).

[88] Vergil may have modelled his simile on Apollonius' *Argonautica* 4 (Nelis 2001:214); the *Argo* is compared to a serpent as it attempts to escape lake Tritonis: 'and like a serpent that goes coiling along a winding road when the sun's piercing rays singe him; and with a hiss his head turns this way and that, and enraged his two eyes glow like the sparks of a fire, until he slithers back to his hole through a cleft in the rock. Just so the *Argo* sailed about for a long time as it searched for an outlet from the lake through which the ship could pass' (*Argo*.4.1541-1547).
Besides the visual parallels, the allusion to Lake Tritonis is also significant in light of the approaching death of Misenus, who dies at Cumae when he rouses the jealousy of Triton (*Aen*.6.171-174) (Fratantuono and Smith 2015:327).

2.5 Snakes in *Aeneid* 6

Near the end of Book 5, Anchises appears to Aeneas and tells him to travel to the underworld to meet with him (*Aen*.5.719-733). Book 6 narrates this journey which Aeneas undertakes with the Sibyl as guide (*Aen*.6.264-678). Once in the underworld, they confront numerous forms of human misery (Grief, Old Age and Hunger, *Aen*.6.274-279) and monsters:

> And there are the iron chambers of the Furies, and senseless Discord, her snaky hair tied up with a blood-stained ribbon.
>
> (*Aen.*6.280-281)

Whereas in Book 4 the Furies appear to Dido in her dream (*Aen*.4.465-473), here Aeneas sees signs of them—their iron beds—and confronts the goddess Discordia. She is a goddess who delights in bloodshed and strife. She is the equivalent of the Greek Eris, who is infamous for her disagreeable and warlike nature (Lewis and Short 1980:588). Eris appears frequently in the *Iliad* and always in a negative light as Homer says: 'Eris whose fury is savage, sister and companion to man-slaying Ares' (*Il*.4.440-441).[89] Vergil places Discordia near the chambers' of the Furies and gives her serpentine hair which suggests that she is more a hellish demon than goddess. Goldschmidt notes that Discordia was already characterised by Ennius in the *Annales* as a 'hellish figure' and argues that Vergil's description betrays an Ennian origin (2016:134). Vergil's Discordia to all intents and purposes is identical with the Furies, for her snaky hair marks her as one of them. The Furies sport hairdos entwined with snakes as Orestes remarks in Aeschylus: 'Ah, Ah! You serving-women, see them over there: like Gorgons, dressed in black robes and entwined with tangled snakes! I can no longer stay' (*Lib*.1048-1051).[90]

The Furies' serpentine hair is also described by the Roman poet, Catullus: 'Therefore, you who punish the crimes of men with vengeance's price, Eumenides, your foreheads encircled with snaky hair display the anger breathed out from your breasts' (*Carm*.64.192-194).[91]

The snaky hair is a well-established trademark of the Furies as Aeschylus and Catullus show.[92] In characterising Discordia, Vergil dressed her in the trappings of a Fury enhancing her already frightening and hideous characteristics, thus making her even more terrible than Eris, her Greek

[89] Eris appears in the *Theoogony* (211-226) where Hesiod describes her parentage and character.
[90] The Greek text for Aeschylus' *Oresteia* is that of Smyth (1930a).
[91] From Borzsák's Latin text (1984).
[92] For further examples see Ovid (*Metam.*4.451), Propertius (*Eleg*.3.5), Seneca (*Her*.982) and Statius (*Theb*.1.46).

counterpart. After the brief Discordia interlude, Aeneas and the Sibyl continue on their journey through Hades. They soon approach the river Styx where the ferryman Charon at first refuses to let them board his boat, but on seeing the golden bough, he ferries them across (*Aen*.6.384-416). After crossing the Styx, they encounter Cerberus, the three-headed guard dog blocking their way:

> When the prophetess saw that snakes were beginning to bristle around his neck, she threw before him a cake dowsed with honey and sleep-inducing herbs.
>
> (*Aen*.6.419-421)

The snakes of Cerberus' neck seem to be more alert than the guard dog himself as at the first sight of their reaction, the Sibyl jumps into action. They are also suggestive of anger, echoing *attollentem iras* ('rises in anger', *Aen*.2.381) of the snake in the Androgeos simile.[93] Horace also depicts Cerberus and his description bears a close similarity to Vergil's:

> Cerberus, the monstrous doorman of Pluto's court yielded to your charms, even though a hundred Fury-like snakes guard his head.
>
> (*Carm*.3.11.15-18)

As the dog becomes angry his mane of snakes bristles. Luckily, the Sibyl has handy sleep-inducing cakes at hand to put Cerberus to sleep so that she and Aeneas may continue on their way.[94]

With Cerberus asleep, Aeneas and the Sibyl now pass through a region inhabited by various shades where Aeneas stops to speak to Dido (*Aen*.6.450-476) and Deiphobus, Priam's son (*Aen*.6.494-547). After the encounters, Aeneas and the Sibyl reach a forked path; the path on the right leads to their destination Elysium, but Aeneas looks back and sees the gates of Tartarus (*Aen*.6.548-627). This is the abode of the damned, the Sibyl explains, and describes its inhabitants to Aeneas, of which Tisiphone is one of the most frightening:

---

[93] Cerberus appears in the *Iliad*, but is called κύνα στυγεροῦ Ἄϊδαο ('the hated dog of Hades', *Il*.8.368); Hesiod is the first to name him Κέρβερον ὠμηστήν ('Cerberus who eats raw flesh', *Theog*.311.)
In art and tragedy Cerberus is usually depicted with three heads and a mane or tail of snakes (Hanfmann 1961b:181). For further examples: Euripides (*Her*.611), Apollodorus (*Bib*.2.5.12) and the celebrated Caeretan hydria in the Louvre (E701).

[94] The situation reminds one of the Massylian priestess who sprinkles the food of the serpent guarding the Hesperides with honey and sleep-bringing poppies (*Aen*.4.483-486). In Cerberus' case, however, the intention is clearly to put him to sleep.

> Then immediately avenging Tisiphone, armed with a whip, makes the guilty tremble as she taunts them; holding out her left hand she threatens them with menacing snakes as she calls the ferocious band of her sisters to join.
>
> (*Aen*.6.570-572)

Tisiphone acts on the orders of Radamanthus, who judges the dead (*Aen*.6.567). Vergil emphasises Tisiphone's eagerness to inflict punishment (*continuo*, *Aen*.6.570). She has at her disposal a whip with which she taunts the guilty—the image is that of drovers urging on a pack of animals, *saepe etiam cursu quatiunt et sole fatigant* ('they often also drive [the mares] with running and tire them with the sun', *Geor*.3.132). In her left hand, Tisiphone holds snakes with which she threatens her victims. Snakes appear to be the favourite weapon and/or trapping of the Furies, as Tisiphone's two sisters, Allecto and Megaera also wield or wear serpents (Mackie 1992:360).[95] Tisiphone is also mentioned by Horace in one of his satires, where he describes an old burial-ground on the Esquiline Hill that is a favourite haunt of witches:

> One [witch] invokes Hecate, the other cruel Tisiphone. You could see snakes and the dogs of hell roaming about, and the moon blushing as she hides behind the towering funerary monuments to avert her eyes from these monstrosities.
>
> (*Sat*.1.8.33-36)[96]

Although Horace does not place serpents in Tisiphone's hand, they are nearby enough to make the moon hide her face. Ovid also mentions Tisiphone, this time donning a snake as a girdle:

> Savage Tisiphone wastes no time and seizes a torch soaked with blood; dressed in a robe red with liquid blood, and girded with a twisted snake, she leaves her house.
>
> (*Metam*.4.481-484)[97]

Although the snakes of *Aeneid* 6 only appear as appendages of more ferocious characters, they nonetheless play their part well. Roman readers would immediately have recognised the close relationship between snakes, the Furies and Cerberus, as this association was already well established in tragedy and mythology. The significance of the snakes in Book 6 is to enhance the ferocity and hideous qualities of the characters they are attached to. The image of snake-wielding

[95] Allecto and her snakes play an important part in Book 7 and Megaera appears near the end of Book 12.
[96] The Latin text of Borzsák (1984).
[97] From the Latin text of Ehwald (1890).

Tisiphone also foreshadows the appearance of Allecto in Book 7, who uses her snakes to charm and cause madness.

2.6 Snakes in *Aeneid* 7

In Book 7 the Trojans eventually reach Italy; Aeneas is the first to catch sight of the Tiber as it flows through a sprawling forest (*Aen*.7.29-30). Vergil invokes Erato—signalling the start of the Iliadic half of the epic—as he describes Latium, its king Latinus and Lavinia, his daughter (*Aen*.7.37-106). Latinus proves well-disposed to wed his daughter to Aeneas (mindful of Faunus' oracle, *Aen*.7.96-101), but Juno intervenes, and calls upon the Fury Allecto (*Aen*.7.286-322). Here we meet Allecto for the first time, and snakes are an important part of her accoutrements:

> When [Juno] had spoken these words, she sped, a horrid sight, towards the earth. From the abode of the Furies in the darkness of Hades, she summoned the mistress of sorrow, Allecto, whose heart delights in bitter wars, violence, plots, and fatal quarrels. Even her own father, Pluto, hates the monster, as do her Tartarean sisters: she takes on so many shapes, her appearances are so terrible, and her head swarms with so many black snakes.
>
> (*Aen*.7.323-329)

However hellish her sisters are, Allecto is the worst of the trio, even earning the scorn of their father Pluto. The swarming snakes of Allecto's hair identify her as a *real* Fury, as do the whips and torches she carries (*verbera…funereasque inferre faces*, *Aen*.7.336-337). Like his earlier depiction of the Furies, Vergil most probably took his inspiration for Allecto from tragedy, in which, from Aeschylus onwards, the Furies frequently appeared (Heinze 1993:149). In the *Saturnalia*, Macrobius (*fl*. 400 CE) comments on the meeting of Juno and Allecto:

> What does Vergil do? Juno, Queen of the gods is brought down from heaven, and the chieftess of the Furies conveyed up from Tartarus; snakes appear all over, like on the stage, giving birth to madness.
>
> (*Sat*.5.17.3)[98]

Macrobius' remark suggest that Vergil' characterisation of Allecto, owed a great deal to tragic depictions of the Furies. The character Lyssa in Euripides' *Heracles* comes the closest to Allecto—although she has no snakes—for Lyssa, at Hera's instigation, causes madness in Hercules which results in the death of his sons and wife (Heinze 1993:149).[99] Although influenced by tragic depictions of the Furies, Vergil makes a bold innovation in the scene when Allecto attacks her first victim, Amata, Latinus' wife and mother to Lavinia:

[98] Translated from the Latin text of Willis (1994).
[99] See Euripides' *Hercules* line 1140 when Hercules is told by Amphitryon that he has killed his family.

> The goddess plucked one snake from her dark blue hair and hurled it at Amata; and she plunged it into Amata's breast, into her very heart, so that maddened by the monster she might throw her whole house into confusion. Gliding between her clothes and smooth breasts, the snake coiled unfelt about her, and without her notice, it breathed into her its dementing viper-breath. The gigantic snake became the gold necklace around her neck, and also became the ends of her long headband; it entwined her hair and slimily it slithered over her limbs. And while the infection, sinking in with moist venom, was beginning to attack her senses and envelope her bones with fire, her mind had not yet felt the flame burning through all her heart. She spoke in gentle tones such as a mother does, and shed many tears over her daughter and the Phrygian wedding.
>
> (*Aen*.7.346-358)

Elsewhere the snake is no more than a prop or attribute of the Furies; however, here it becomes a 'supernatural creature' that can change its shape: becoming a golden necklace (351-352) and ribbons (352) (Lowe 2012: 81). At the same time, the snake has in a sense evolved from its earlier incarnation in Book 6 where it was a prop to an agent: here it penetrates Amata's innermost heart (347) and transforms her emotional state with its maddening breath (356, 351). Vergil describes the serpent's movement in a sensual and erotic way: it glides between her clothing and smooth breasts (349-350), entwines her hair and slithers all over her limbs (353), and envelopes her bones with fire (355). The last refers not so much to the bones themselves but rather to the marrow within which is a locus for fiery sexual passion (Rosenmeyer 1999:19).[100] Both Horsfall (1995) and Lowe (2012) remark about the novelty of the passage as traditionally the Furies have snaky hair and carry snakes in art and literature, but never toss their serpents to afflict their victims (1995:242; 2012: 88).[101] Dustan Lowe provides a possible source for Vergil's imagery by arguing that the poet may have been influenced by the initiation ritual of Sabazius (2012:84). Sabazius was originally a saviour-god from Thrace and Phrygia whose cult spread through the Greco-Roman world where he came to be closely allied with Dionysus, ecstatic worship, and snake-handling (Godwin 1981:152).[102] Although many details about Sabazius' cult are unclear, there are

[100] Amata's encounter with the snake closely resembles that of Cupid and Dido in Book 1. This earlier episode foreshadows the imagery of the snake: Cupid clings to Aeneas neck (*Aen*.1.715), sits in Dido's lap (*Aen*.1.718-719) and employs fire and poison (*Aen*.1.688). Allecto's snake also clings to Amata's neck and body, as well as uses poison and fire (Scher 1975: 78).

[101] Ovid, however, imitated Vergil when he describes the Fury Tisiphone hurling snakes at Ino and Athamas: 'Then Tisiphone tore off two snakes from the middle of her hair and grasping them tightly she hurled them from her cursed hand. While the snakes slithered over the breasts of Ino and Athamas, they breathed their poisonous breath into them. And the poison did not injure their physical body: but it was their minds that suffered the dreadful sting' (*Metam*.4.495-499).

[102] Aristophanes (446 – 386 BCE) identifies Sabazius as a god associated with manic behaviour (*Vesp*.9-14) and frenzy (*Lys.*388-390). Demosthenes (384 – 322 BCE) describes Aeschines squeezing and handling

two references to the initiation ritual as described by the Christian polemicists, Clement of Alexandria (150 - 215 CE) and Arnobius (*fl*.4th century CE):

> The token of the mysteries of Sabazius to the initiates is, as I say, the god through the bosom: for the god is this serpent pulled through the bosom of those initiated into the mysteries.
>
> (*Prot*.2.16.2)[103]
>
> Lastly, the sacred rituals themselves, and the rite of initiation itself, which is called Sebadia, will prove the truth of my testimony: for during them a golden snake is thrust down into the bosom of the consecrated person, and is taken away again from the lower parts of the garment.
>
> (*Adv.Nat*.5.21)[104]

Both accounts describe the pivotal moment of initiation: a 'snake' object representing Sabazius was passed down the front of the initiate's body under the clothing (through the κόλπος or *sinus*). In addition, Arnobius specifies that the object was made of gold, and was removed from the lower parts of the initiate's clothing, which emphasises the sensual aspects of the initiation.[105] Although it is very unlikely that Vergil was well informed about the cult of Sabazius[106], he may have known of the god's association with Dionysus, and the use of snakes in the god's cult, through authors such as Aristophanes, Demosthenes and Strabo, and possible active cults in Italy.[107] Interpreting Allecto's attack on Amata within the context of Sabazius' initiation ritual helps explain the erotic tones in Vergil's imagery of the snake as it glides under Amata's clothes, penetrates her breast, and breathes into her its maddening breath. At first Amata is unaware of the growing flame (*flammam*, *Aen*.7.356) and attempts to dissuade Latinus from the forthcoming wedding between Aeneas and Lavinia (*Phrygiisque hymenaeis*, *Aen*.7.358) with her words; shortly afterwards, however, the Fury's snake takes complete hold of her:

---

snakes during a procession of Sabazius (*De Corona.*260). Strabo (64 BCE – 24 CE) suggests that Sabazius is the same god as Dionysus (*Geog.*10.3.15).

[103] From the Greek text edited by Butterworth (1919).

[104] From the Latin text of Reifferscheid (1875).

[105] Burkert (1987:106) argues that this is a 'form of sexual union with a god' in the form of a snake: in myth Persephone is seduced by Zeus in the guise of a serpent (Ovid *Metam*.6.114), and legend has associated the god Ammon, under the form of a snake, with the impregnation of Olympias, mother of Alexander (Plutarch *Alex*.2.6, 3.2, 3.3).

[106] The 'Complex of the Magic Rites' in Pompeii contains evidence of Sabazius' cult as two bronze hands and ritual terra-cotta vases have been discovered (Lowe 2012:83). Herculaneum has also shown evidence of the cult's presence (Lane 1980:15).

[107] Vergil shows knowledge of other foreign cults such as Cybele (*Aen*.6.784-487, 9.112, 9.617-620, 10.252-253) and Anubis (*Aen*.8.698).

> When, in spite of her attempt, she saw that Latinus stood firm against her; and when the furial breath of the snake had seeped deep into her bowels and had passed over her whole body, then indeed did wretched Amata, provoked by monstrous thoughts, run in a delirious frenzy through the spacious city.
>
> (*Aen*.7.373-377)

The furious madness of the serpent's breath (375) now awakens maenadic madness in Amata, suggested by the word *lymphata* (*Aen*.7.377) (Hershkowitz 1998:49).[108] The image of the supernatural snake provides a bridge between the two types of madness: transitioning from furial madness to the *lymphata* of the maenads, who were the frenzied followers of Dionysus (Hershkowitz 1998:41). The allusion to Sabazius' initiation ritual in lines 346-358, makes sense in light of Amata's frenzy (377), for the Greeks and Romans identified Sabazius with Dionysus (Lowe 2012:86). Following this train of thought, Vergil connected the ecstatic worship and snake symbolism of Sabazius with the better-known cult practices of Dionysus, adding extra nuances of eroticism to the entire Allecto-Amata episode (Lowe 2012:91).[109]

Her task accomplished, Allecto moves onto her next victim, Turnus while he sleeps. She assumes the form of Calybe, an old priestess of Juno, and urges Turnus to attack the Trojans and reminds him that Lavinia was previously promised to him (*Aen*.7.406-434). Turnus scoffs at the *fake* Calybe, at which Allecto, filled with anger, resumes her true form and unleashes her furial powers:

> Enraged at such words, Allecto boiled over into anger. But while the young man was still speaking, a sudden trembling took hold of his limbs, and his eyes were fixed: the Fury hissed with so many snakes and her appearance was so frightening. Then directing her flaming leer towards him, she thrust him back as he faltered trying to say more. She raised two snakes from her hair, sounded her whip, and out of her furious mouth she spoke these words…
>
> (*Aen*.7.445-451)

Allecto's words and disguise fail, unlike the Sabazius-Dionysus snake, and she is forced to overwhelm Turnus with her terrifying aspect. Here Allecto does not use a snake as a weapon, but

---

[108] Varro makes the allusion to Dionysus in *lymphata* clear when he says: 'Mind-bent, as if driven mad or disturbed by the rites of Bacchus' (*L.L.*7.87). The Latin text of the *De Lingua Latina* is that of Kent (1938).
[109] Allecto continued to be associated with the madness of erotic passion. In Handel's opera, *Aci, Galatea e Polifemo* (1708), with a libretto by Nicola Giuvo, Polyphemus describes his anger in an emotive aria when Galatea refuses his advances (Strohm 2007:4-5): *Sibilar l'angui d'Aletto e latrar voraci Scille parmi udir d'intorno a me. Rio velen mi serpe in petto perche a' rai di due pupille arde il cor senza mercè.* 'I seem to hear all around me, the hissing of Allecto's snakes and Scylla's voracious barking. Wicked venom creeps into my breast because my heart burns without mercy at the sight of her two eyes.' The translation is my own.

relies on her serpentine hair to emphasise her frightening appearance (447) and anger (450). Unlike Amata, Turnus does not descend into maenadic madness, which may explain why Allecto does not resort to the same tactic employed earlier (*Aen*.7.373-377). Allecto only has to awaken Turnus' lust for war, which she does with a torch planted in his chest: 'she flung her torch at the youth, Turnus, and planted deep beneath his breast the black smoking flame' (*Aen*.7.456-457). Allecto's torch overcomes Turnus and he incites his fellow Rutulians to war (*Aen*.7.475).[110]

After Allecto's success with Amata and Turnus, Juno dismisses her:

> But Allecto raised her wings which ruffled with hissing snakes, and leaving the heights of the sky above, she made for her home in Cocytus.
>
> (*Aen*.7.561-562)

When Allecto departs, she does so with a final emphasis on both wings and snakes (561).[111] What the line *stridentis anguibus alas* (*Aen*.7.561) describes is debated. Fordyce (1977) accepts the snakes on the wings as a horror-intensifying innovation (1977:161), but Horsfall (2000) argues that this would be an 'entirely unparalleled violation', for in literature and art, snakes are either situated in the hands (*Aen*.7.346, 450) or in the hair (*Aen*.7.347) of a Fury (2000:368). Vergil has already exhibited innovation when he had Allecto throw a seductive and supernatural snake at Amata, why should this *violation*, as Horsall says, be attributed to the poet's *Schlamperei* (sloppiness) (2000:368). I agree with Fordyce, and suggest that Vergil's innovation is hardly due to the poet's sloppiness, for the novelty is not only convincing but also in keeping with the poet's habit of creative innovation. Vergil may have been motivated by his desire to make Allecto as terrible and frightening as possible, and hence let his creative mind run. The effect of this is that Allecto, who clearly resembles a woman, becomes less human and more bestial, like Cerberus. And therefore our sympathy for her human victims grows since who can resist such a beast?

Snakes next appear in the catalogue of Italian leaders (*Aen*.7.647-847). The purpose of this catalogue probably lies with Vergil's desire to showcase the Italian landscape and its leaders, thereby illustrating to his contemporary Roman audience how they are still linked. In doing so, Vergil also creates a contrast between wicked, tragic and noble characters such as, Mezentius, the king of the Etruscans (*Aen*.7.648), his son Lausus (*Aen*.7.649), and Aventinus:

---

[110] Allecto has one last victim, Aeneas' son Ascanius (*Aen*.7.476-502). This seminal episode will be discussed later as it concerns hunting dogs and the pet stag of Sylvia.

[111] Wings are recurring features of monsters (Harpies, *Aen*.3.225-256), messengers (Iris, *Aen*.4.700) and the Furies (*Aen*.7.476), while snakes are frequent attributes of the Furies and Cerberus (*Aen*.6.419-421), both, however, usually appear separately.

> After these men, came handsome Aventinus, the son of handsome Hercules. He displayed his chariot decked with a palm, and his victorious horses on the grass. On his shield he bore his father's emblem, a hundred snakes and the serpent-wreathed Hydra. Aventinus had secretly been brought into the world in a wood on the Aventine Hill by the priestess Rhea, a woman who had coupled with a god, when Tyrinthian Hercules, after destroying Geryon, came as a conqueror to the Laurentine fields and bathed his Iberian cows in the Etruscan river. Aventinus' men carried in their hand javelins and grim pikes for the battle, and they fought with polished blades and Sabine javelins. He flung a monstrous lion skin around himself, placing on his head the skin with its terrifying bristles uncombed and its white teeth; with Hercules' garb around his shoulders, he entered the royal palace and appeared so terrifying.
>
> (*Aen*.7.655-669)

Whereas Mezentius is characterised as hateful and Lausus as a tragic victim (*Aen*.7.653-654), Aventinus' beauty is emphasised (*pulcher*, *Aen*.7.657). Aventinus is not only handsome but also a famed charioteer (*insignem palma…currum*, *Aen*.7.655) and the owner of equally renowned horses (*victoresque…equos*, *Aen*.7.656). Aventinus is evidently proud of them (*ostentat*, *Aen*.7.656), however, as Page notes, in what way his chariot and horses are 'victorious' is not made clear (Page 1970:192). Horsfall suggests Vergil may be alluding to the Nemean Games, since the 'palm' is an 'agonistic prize' or perhaps Vergil intends to present Aventinus as famed charioteer in his own right (2000:431). The chariot is common in Homer and frequently appears in the *Iliad*.[112] Heinze correctly identifies the chariot as Italian as it is never used by Aeneas or the Trojans (1993:159).[113] With this in mind, the chariot serves to emphasise Aventinus' Italian origin, while the horses underscore his prowess and importance (Heinze 1993:160).

Unlike the figure of Mezentius, who is a well-known figure in mythology, there is no trace of Aventinus before Vergil (Williams 1961:150).[114] Vergil seems to have invented him from the name of the Aventine hill (*collis Aventini*, *Aen*.7.659) or introduced him from 'Aventinus', the king of Alba who reigned after the death of Romulus Silvius (Williams 1961:150 and Gilmartin 1968:43).[115] Vergil attributes his Aventinus to the offspring of Hercules and the priestess Rhea. To lend authenticity to Aventinus' Herculean lineage, Vergil describes his shield as bearing the image of

[112] See for example *Iliad*.4.-279-309.
[113] The gods are an exception: see Mars' chariot (*Aen*.9.433-434).
[114] For sources on Mezentius see Pliny (*Nat.Hist*.14.88), Livy (*Ab.Urb.Cond*.1.2.3) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Rom.Anti*.1.64).
[115] Varro says that the Aventine hill is named for the Alban King Aventinus: '[they say] that it is from Aventinus the Alban king, because he is buried there' (*L.L.*5.43).
Livy expresses the same opinion: '[Aventinus] was buried on that hill, which is now part of Rome, and he gave his name to the hill' (*Ab.Urb.Cond*.1.3.9).

the Hydra, Hercules' second labour, fringed with serpents around the shield's edge (Ogden 2013:26). Aventinus' mother Rhea seems to be very similar to Rhea Silvia, the mother of Romulus and Remus. Vergil clearly has this in mind for like Rhea Silvia (a vestal virgin), this Rhea is also a priestess and gave birth in a wood (*silva*, *Aen*.7.659), which echoes the other Rhea's name (Page 1970:193 and Horsfall 2000:432-433). Aventinus was conceived by Rhea after Hercules returned from his victory over Geryon (*victor Geryone*, *Aen*.7.661-662) and bathed his Spanish cows in the Tiber (*boves in flumine lavit Hiberas*, *Aen*.7.663). In this episode Vergil paints a 'rich panorama of Greco-Roman mythology'; Hercules is present at the future sight of Rome, a theme which is explored in fuller detail in Book 8 when Aeneas hears the story of Hercules and Cacus from Evander (Williams 1961:151). This section ends with a vivid description of Aventinus entering the king's palace clad in a lion skin, like his father Hercules who wore the skin of the Nemean lion, killed as his first labour (Horsfall 2000:436).[116] Although Vergil provides a detailed portrait of Aventinus, he does not appear again in the *Aeneid* (Horsfall 2000:432 and Zanker 1988:40). I suggest that Vergil employs Aventinus to communicate the idea of Roman-ness: firstly Aventinus' mother shares the same name as Rhea Silvia, the mother of Romulus and Remus which, if they are the same person, alludes to a matriarchic descent for both the Italian hero and Rome's founders: secondly one of Rome's seven hills, the Aventine derives its named after the Italian Aventinus, suggesting that there was an Italian presence in Rome from before its foundation. As for the animal references, including the mythical Hydra, they all serve to colour the passage: the horses emphasise Aventinus' skill while the references to the hundred serpents, Hydra, the Iberian cows and the lion skin stresses not only Aventinus' parentage but also reminds the readers of Hercules' heroism.

Umbro, a priest of the Marsi, is the next character in the catalogue to be associated with snakes. In this rather interesting passage, Vergil offers a glimpse into the beliefs of an indigenous Italian people, who were renowned as magicians and snake charmers (Page 1970:198):

> A priest from the Marruvian race came as well, who was adorned with leaves of the fruitful olive above his helmet. He was manly Umbro, who had been sent by King Archippus. Through the power of his song and touch, Umbro was accustomed to sprinkle sleep over the serpentine race and over water-snakes with noxious breath, soothing their anger and healing their bites by his art.
>
> (*Aen*.7.750-755)

[116] See Hesiod (*Theog*.327) and Apollodorus (*Bibl*.2.5.1) for more detail about the Nemean lion and Hercules.

Marruvium was the capital of the Marsi and was located on the banks of Lake Fucinus (Page 1970: 198). The skill of the Marsi as snake-charmers is attested as early as the satirist Lucilius (180 – 103/102 BCE) who says: 'now he will burst open in the middle, now, like a Marsian bursts snakes open with his song when he has made all their veins puff up' (*Sat*.20.605-606).[117] Pliny also notes the Marsian knack for charming snakes, saying: 'and by the song of the Marsi, [snakes] are brought together even during their nightly sleep' (*Nat*.*Hist*.28.4.19). He also adds that the Marsi are capable of curing snake bites which he attributes to their forefather Agrius, the son of Circe.[118]

Vergil says little about Umbro as a warrior, save that he is courageous (752) and wears an unwarlike helmet adorned with olive leaves (751). The olive is an appropriate emblem, however, for it was the 'correct priestly' accessory in both Greek and Roman usage (Horsfall 2000: 489).[119] The emphasis is entirely on Umbro's ability to charm snakes with his touch and song (*cantuque manuque*, *Aen*.7.754). This reminds one of the Massylian priestess feeding the serpent who guards the garden of the Hesperides in *Aen*.4.483-486. The noxious breath of water snakes (*graviter spirantibus hydris*, *Aen*.7.753) is reminiscent of the maddening viper's breath seen during the Allecto-Amata episode (*Aen*.7.346-358), however, here Umbro can cure the dangerous effects (*levabat*, *Aen*.7.755). Vergil's rendering of Umbro resonates with contemporary folklore surrounding the Marsi, as revealed by Lucilius and Pliny the Elder, which suggests that he was well versed in the cultural beliefs of Italian peoples. I think Vergil purposefully included Umbro to express the idea of Roman-ness.[120] During the Social War (91-88 BCE), the Marsi were some of the fiercest enemies of Rome since they desired to obtain Roman citizenship, which was refused them (Salmon 1962:115).[121] It was only after the Marsi surrendered in 88 BCE and the passing of the *lex Plautia Papiria* that they were granted Roman citizenship (Dart 2014:185).[122] With this in

[117] From the Latin text of Warmington (1938).
[118] Pliny *Nat*.*Hist*.7.2.15: 'There is a similar race in Italy, the Marsi, who are said to be descended from Agrius, the son of Circe, from whom they obtained the power [to cure snake bites] as a natural property.'
[119] Compare Numa, a king of Rome who wears an olive-spray in *Aeneid* (6.808) and Allecto, who when she assumes the form of the aged priestess Calybe also wears olive leaves to make her disguise more convincing (*Aen*.7.418).
[120] Umbro's name is suggested to derive from the Umbro River, modern Ombrone, located in Etruria (Horsfall 2000:488).
[121] Cicero unequivocally asserts that the Italian allies of Rome, including the Marsi, fought: 'for the allies were not seeking to take away our citizenship, but to be admitted to it themselves' (*Phil*.12.27). From the Latin text of Clark and Peterson (1901-1911).
[122] The tribunes Marcus Plautius Silvanus and Gnaeus Papirius Carbo secured the passage of the *lex Plautia Papiria* in 89 BCE (Dart 2014:183).

mind, it is conceivable that Vergil tailored this passage and the Aventinus reference to express a shared identity to which Marsi, Italians and Romans could all subscribe.

2.7 Snakes in *Aeneid* 8

In Book 8, Aeneas reaches Pallanteum, the home of Evander where he and his people are engaged in a sacrifice to Hercules (*Aen*.8.102-110).[123] Evander is at first alarmed by the Trojan's appearance, but Pallas, Evander's son, hurries to meet Aeneas (*Aen*.8.111-114). When he learns who Aeneas is and that he comes in peace, Pallas welcomes him and escorts him to his father (*Aen*.8.115-125). Evander relates at length the aition for the sacrifice, Hercules' defeat of Cacus (*Aen*.8.175-267). At the close of his speech, the sacrifice resumes at the Ara Maxima (*Aen*.8.268-272), and as evening draws near, the Salian priests assemble around the altar to sing a hymn in praise of Hercules' heroic exploits:[124]

> Then the Salii, crowned with poplar-branches, came to sing around the burning high-altar. Here a chorus of young men, and there of old men, who in song praise the glory and deeds of Hercules: how first he strangled in his grasp two snakes—monsters sent by his stepmother; how in warfare he dashed to pieces the illustrious cities of Troy and Oechalia; how he accomplished a thousand difficult labours in service to King Eurytheus because of cruel Juno's will. Invincible conqueror, you are the one who slayed the cloud-born Centaurs, Hylaeus and Pholus with your own hand, and you killed the Cretan monster, and the monstrous lion under the cliff of Nemea. The Stygian lakes trembled before you, and even Orcus' warden, who lies upon half-eaten bones in his gory cave. No hellish creature frightened you, not even Typhoeus himself, grasping his weapons high in the air. When the snake of Lerna surrounded you with its cluster of heads you were not without cunning.
>
> (*Aen*.8.285-300)

The hymn details a grand list of Hercules' achievements. His fist act was to strangle twin snakes sent by Juno his stepmother (289). Earlier in the *Aeneid*, Vergil already makes a connection between Juno and serpents: she employs serpentine Allecto against Amata (*Aen*.7.436-358) and against Turnus (*Aen*.7.445-451). The image of twin serpents is also reminiscent of the two snakes that kill Laocoon and his sons (*Aen*.2.201-227), which are also sent by a goddess, Minerva. In the hymn to Hercules, the snakes are vanquished, but two magnificent cities are also destroyed

[123] The city's name provides a legendary derivation for the Palatine hill (*Palatium*) for Evander founds the Pallanteum on the hills (*montibus*, *Aen*.8.53). Compare Livy who states: 'they say that the sportive Lupercal festival was already at that time celebrated on the Palatine hill, and that the hill was first named Pallantium, from Pallanteum, an Arcadian city, and then Palatium' (*Ab*.*Urb*.*Con*.1.5.1).

[124] The Salii were a priesthood dedicated to Mars and according to Roman myth founded by King Numa (Beard, North and Price 1998:43). In March a festival was held in honour of Mars at which the Salii danced through the city, sang hymns and wore distinctive armour (Beard, North and Price 1998:43).
The Salii's connection with Hercules is explained by Macrobius: 'on the contrary [Vergil], through the wealth of his profound learning, assigns the Salii to Hercules, because he is a god, and among the pontiffs he is considered the same as Mars' (*Sat*.3.12.5).

(291).[125] The mention of Troy's destruction appears 'somewhat rude' in the presence of Aeneas (Galinsky 1966:46), but the hymn was composed before his arrival, and Servius notes that it would be *sacrilegium* (sacrilege) to omit it from the hymn (*Comm*.*Verg*.*Aen*.8.291). Conington and Nettleship note that the word order of line 290 allows *bello* to be taken with *egregias*, which would render the line 'cities eminent in war' (1871:109).[126] The implication of this, they suggest ameliorates any impropriety in celebrating Hercules' destruction of Troy since due 'honour is paid to the strength of the city' (Conington and Nettleship 1871:109). On the other hand Fratantuono and Smith note how frequently Troy's destruction is retold in the *Aeneid*, which they suggest serves not only as a reminder of what was lost, but more importantly as an impetus to begin anew in Italy (2018:399).

The Salii next sing of Hercules' most famous exploits, when he performed the twelve labours in service to Eurytheus (292). The identity of the Cretan monster (294) is most certainly the Cretan bull about which Apollodorus tells:

> [Eurytheus] commanded [Hercules] to fetch the Cretan bull as his seventh labour…after catching it and bringing it, he showed the bull to Eurytheus, and thereafter allowed the creature to go free: but the bull arrived at Marathon in Attica and shamefully maltreated the inhabitants.
>
> (*Bibl*.2.5.7)[127]

Rather than capturing the Cretan bull, Vergil makes Hercules kill it, perhaps to avoid it ravaging humankind (διελυμαίνετο, *Bibl*.2.5.7). This makes for a neat parallel with the destructive behaviour of the Centaurs (294) and the Nemean lion (295) which Hercules similarly kills to bring order.[128] The Nemean lion, like the twin snakes, is also sent by Juno, as Hesiod says: 'and the Nemean lion, which Hera, the noble wife of Zeus, reared and made to live in the hills of Nemea, a bane to men' (*Theog*.327-329). The hymn ends with the serpentine Hydra, which Hesiod says

[125] The destruction of Oechalia and Troy seem to be at odds with the order Hercules brings, but he had good reason to destroy the cities: Eurytus king of Oechalia had promised the hero his daughter Iole (Euripides, *Hippolytus* 545-555), while the king of Troy, Laomedon withheld mares that he had promised Hercules (Diodorus Siculus, *Bil*.*Hist*.4.32.).
[126] It would not be unreasonable to translate the line thus since the combination is already present in a description of Carthage: 'for thus the [Carthaginian] race would be renowned in war and rich in possessions through the ages' (*Aen*.1.444-445).
[127] From the Greek text of Frazer (1921).
[128] The Centaurs are notorious for their wicked behaviour: Apollodorus narrates how Hylaeus in the company of Rhoecus, another Centaur, attempted to rape Atalanta (*Bibl*.3.9.2). Pholus is an exception as he is generally considered a wise centaur who befriends Hercules (*Bibl*.2.5.4), but according to Ovid, Pholus is participant in the battle between the Lapiths and Centaurs, which occurs because of the Centaurs' drunkenness at the wedding feast of Pirithous (*Metam*.12.210-315).

Hera nourished: 'the Lernean Hydra, skilled in causing misery, whom the white-armed goddess, Hera, raised since she was immensely angry with the strong Hercules' (*Theog*.313-315).

The twin snakes and Nemean lion embody Juno's anger in animal-form. Unlike Laocoon and his sons, who fall victim to Minerva's twin serpents, Hercules overcomes Juno's snake assassins. Unlike Amata and Turnus, who are driven mad and incited to war by Allecto, Hercules stands steadfast in the face of the underworld's monsters (*nec te ullae facies, non terruit ipse Typhoeus*, *Aen*.8.298). His defeat of these monsters not only emphasises Hercules' strength, but more importantly, stresses his role as a restorer of order, a role which wins him godhood:[129]

> Hail, true son of Jove, you have added to the glory of the gods! Both to us and to your sacred rites draw near with your auspicious presence.
>
> (*Aen*.8.301-302)

The next snake image occurs in an episode where Vulcan at Venus' bidding hurries to his forge and instructs his workmen, the Cyclopes, to leave their various tasks for *arma acri facienda viro* ('We need to make arms for a valiant man', *Aen*.8.441):

> Elsewhere they were busy making for Mars a chariot with winged wheels which he uses to stir up warriors and cities; competing against one another, the Cyclopes embellished the fear-inspiring aegis, which Pallas uses when roused to war, with golden serpent-scales, and they adorned the breast of the goddess' aegis with snakes wreathing around the Gorgon's head, still rolling its eyes though severed from the neck.
>
> (*Aen*.8.433-438)

When Vulcan arrives at his smithy, he finds the Cyclopes already engaged; some are fashioning Mars' chariot (433), while others busy themselves with Minerva's aegis (435).[130] Vergil describes Minerva's aegis as wrought in golden scales, which suggests that the aegis is a breastplate and not a shield and so *in pectore* (*Aen*.8.437).[131] The golden scales are described as serpentine in

[129] In Book 6, Anchises compares Augustus to Hercules, and as Conington suggests the comparison is favourable to Augustus (1863:519). Both Hercules and Augustus are examples of the θειος ανηρ ('divine man'), a status that is bestowed for exemplary deeds (Gilmartin 1968:47). Hercules through subduing monsters (*pacarit*, *Aen*.6.803), became divine while Augustus enjoys a similar honour because he re-established the Golden Age (*Aen*.6.792-793).

[130] Although the Cyclopes put aside their work on Mars' chariot, he reappears in the climactic depiction of Actium on Aeneas' shield (*Aen*.9.675-677, 700-701).

[131] Deacy and Villing note that the aegis is complicated to define as there are a variety of conflicting literary and pictorial references (2009:112). In Homer the aegis is the shield of Zeus (*Il*.5.738), and he lends it to Athena (*Il*.2.447) and Apollo (*Il*.15.318). In art from about the 6th century BCE, the aegis is the attribute of

look (hendiadys), calling to mind the sheen of a real snake's skin. A fitting quality that at once resonates with the well-known image of Athena Parthenos of Pheidias which similarly depicted the goddess' aegis framed by golden snakes (Deacy and Villing 2009:112). At the same time the image is reminiscent of the 'scaly bodies' (*squamea terga*, *Aen*.2.218-219) of the twin snakes that attacked Laocoon and his sons, which were sent by Minerva (Henry 1989: 97). Henry has observed the close association between Minerva and snakes in the *Aeneid*, and she suggests that a cultic reason may account for it (1989:98-100).

As previously mentioned a sacred snake was the goddess' companion on the Athenian Acropolis from at least the Archaic period (Deacy and Villing 2009:116).[132] A second reason has been suggested by Deacy and Villing, who argue that the snake can have a 'piercing stare' (δέδορκεν, *Il*.22.95) which resembles the wide-eyed gaze of Athena when she is named 'owl-eyed' (γλαυκῶπις) (2009:116).[133] Although the scales in *Aeneid* 8.436 only allude to snakes, the second last line of the quote (437) leaves no doubt that the aegis is adorned with *real* snakes and a Gorgon's head. The Gorgon usually associated with the aegis is Medusa, whose gaze turns onlookers to stone (Deacy and Villing 2009: 122). The snakes wreathing around her head serve to intimidate and terrorise, much like the snaky hair of Allecto (*Aen*.7.329) and the Furies (*Aen*.2.280) in general. The snake imagery in this episode serves to emphasis the intimidating aspect of the goddess' aegis, while at the same time calls to mind Minerva's close association with snakes.

The final appearance of snakes in *Aeneid* 8 occurs in a detailed description of the shield Vulcan makes for Aeneas (*Aen*.8.626-731):

> In the midst of battle, Cleopatra the Egyptian queen, summoned her troops by shaking her fatherland's rattle, and as yet she had no regard for the two snakes behind her. Her gods, monsters of every description, and even barking Anubis, wielded their javelins against Neptune, Venus, and Minerva.
>
> (*Aen*.8.696-700)

This scene foreshadows the eventual suicide of Cleopatra, as the shield ekphrasis compresses the frenzy of the naval battle at Actium (31 BCE) with the event of the queen's suicide a year later, during the fall of Alexandria (Fratantuono and Smith 2018:713). Vergil depicts Cleopatra as

---

Athena, and is shown as a short cloak that is boarded with snakes and often depicts Medusa's head at its centre (Hanfmann 1961a:10).

[132] For the account of the sacred snake on the Acropolis, see Herodotus' account (*Hist*.8.41.2) above.

[133] The relevant line from the *Iliad* was already discussed in section 1.4 above.

wielding her 'fatherland's sistrum' (*patrio…sistro*, *Aen*.8.696) to rouse her troops; this instrument, as Roman readers would recognise, was sacred to Isis whose cult had a presence in Rome, while the queen's *patria* stands in stark contrast to the Roman fatherland: 'Augustus Caesar leads Italians into battle, the Senate and people with him' (*Aen*.8.678-679).[134] Cleopatra's suicide by venomous snakes was well known as Vergil's contemporary Horace reveals: 'and bravely she handled the dangerous snakes, that she might drink deep of their black venom' (*Carm*.1.37.26-28). [135]

Vergil's version mentions two snakes unlike Horace's plural snakes; the reason may lie in the poet's use of twin snakes at moments of great danger: the *gemini* at Laocoon's death (*Aen*.2.203), the two snakes that Allecto raises when threatening Turnus (*Aen*.7.45), and the twin serpents that Juno employs against Hercules (*Aen*.8.289). [136] Interpreted in this way, the two snakes looming behind Cleopatra can only spell imminent doom. Lowe suggests another possible influence, and argues that Vergil may have had the Pharaonic symbol of the double uraeus in mind (2012:91).[137] The cobra goddess Wadjet was frequently depicted as 'an erect cobra with hood extended and ready to strike' (Wilkinson 2005:227). It is in this form that the goddess is represented as the uraeus which protected the Pharaoh and was often attached to the royal crown (Wilkinson 2005:227). In this light, the twin snakes in the Actium scene take on a new meaning and become an obscene parody of their Egyptian counterpart. I think that there is a good case for reading the twin snakes in this way. Vergil has already indicated a certain amount of knowledge about Egyptian religion; Isis' sistrum, the 'monstrous' animal-headed gods of Egypt (698), and 'barking' Anubis, a canine-headed god (698).[138] Although the gods of Egypt are known to him, Vergil seems to be contemptuous of them, calling them *monstra* (*Aen*.8.698) and signalling out Anubis as *latrator* (*Aen*.8.698).

During the Greco-Roman period, Anubis was closely associated with the goddess Isis and was seen as her protector as well as that of the king (Wilkinson 2005:189). Vergil, however, mockingly depicts Anubis barking in the face of the Roman gods: Neptune, Venus and Minerva. In the end

---

[134] Isis' cult was periodically suppressed (53, 50 and 48 BCE) suggesting that the Roman authorities perceived it as a threat (Beard, North and Price 1998:161). During the reign of Augustus, the goddess' cult was again expelled from the city (Beard, North and Price 1998:230)

[135] Other sources are Propertius (*Carm*.3.11.53), Plutarch (*Anton*.85-86) and Cassius Dio (*Rom*.*Hist*.51.54.)

[136] Fratantuono and Smith remark that the *Aeneid* is the only extant source mentioning two snakes (2018:714).

[137] Uraeus from the Greek οὐραῖος ('in or of the tail') (Liddell, Scott and Jones 1996:1272) is a representation of a cobra in a threatening posture (Wilkinson 2005:227).

[138] Recall that other foreign gods appear in the *Aeneid*, especially Cybele (*Aen*.6.784-487, 9.112, 9.617-620, 10.252-253) and perhaps Sabazius (*Aen*.7.346-358).

Anubis' barks are revealed to be nothing but ineffectual yaps against the gods of Rome (Fratantuono and Smith 2018:718). The importance of the twin snakes and canine Anubis lies in the powerful symbolism they possess, for they encompass Egyptian culture. By means of them, Vergil colours the scene. This is a clash not just between Cleopatra and Augustus, but a divine conflict between the gods of Egypt and Rome, in which Augustus' gods prevail:

> But [Augustus] Caesar passed the walls of Rome in triple triumph, and pledged to the gods of Italy an immortal vow, three hundred grand temples built through all the city.
>
> (*Aen*.8.714-716)

2.8 Snakes in *Aeneid* 11

The war in Italy, begun in Book 7, continues to dominate Book 11. The opening lines (*Aen*.11.1-28) describe the funeral of Pallas who died at the hands of Turnus (*Aen*.10.453-489). The war becomes progressively more violent as the Trojan cavalry meet the Latins and Camilla, and join battle (*Aen*.11.597-647).[139] In the thick of the cavalry engagement, Camilla kills many men (*Aen*.11.664-698), and it is at this point that Jupiter stirs Tarchon, an Etruscan, to action (*Aen*.725-750). In a dramatic simile, Tarchon is likened to an eagle that overpowers a snake, who represents Venulus, a Rutulian warrior:

> As when a tawny eagle soaring high seizes and carries off a snake, entwined in his feet and tightly gripped with his talons, but the wounded snake writhes his sinewy folds, and bristles his stiff scales, and raising his head his mouth hisses, but the eagle, none the less, uses his hooked beak to contend with the struggling snake, all while he beats the air with his wings; so Tarchon carried away his prey in victory from the ranks of Tibur's men.
>
> (*Aen*.11.751-758)

Vergil vividly depicts the struggle between eagle and snake. The snake though wounded (*saucius*, *Aen*.11.753) shows its contempt: it stiffens its scales (*horret squamis, Aen*.11.754) and raising its head (*arduus insurgens*, *Aen*.11.755), the snake hisses (*sibilat ore*, *Aen*.11.754). The snake's behaviour, as we have seen earlier, shows a creature that is resolute and hardy, but in the end this proves futile against the hooked beak of the eagle (*obunco…rostro*, *Aen*.11.755-756).[140] The simile is apt for the snake and eagle are proverbial enemies as Aristotle notes: 'the eagle and the snake are enemies, for the eagle lives on snakes' (*Hist.Anim*.9.1.609a5).[141] Pliny also remarks about the hostility between snakes and eagles, saying: 'the [serpent] with mischievous greed

[139] Although Latinus was originally inclined to making a treaty with Aeneas and marrying Lavinia to him, the invectives of Turnus and the excitement caused by Amata (*Aen*.7.572-600) force Latinus into declaring war. In Book 11, Latinus desires to make peace with the Trojans (*Aen*.11.296-335), but the Latin council and Turnus block any hope of peace (*Aen*.11.445-485).

[140] Compare the snake that puffs its neck in anger when stepped upon in the Androgeos simile (*Aen*.2.378-382), or the serpent that indignantly raises part of its body though mangled on a causeway (*Aen*.5.270-281).

[141] For literary references to the hostility between snake and eagle, see Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* (248-429), where Orestes compares the hostile relationship of his parents Agamemnon and Clytemnestra to the interaction between an eagle and snake.
A recent discovery in London illustrates that the theme of eagle vs. snake had an impact on Roman art. Unearthed in 2013, a sculpture depicting an eagle devouring a serpent was discovered in the remains of a tomb in London (Griffiths and Wilkes 2013). Michael Marshall of the Museum of London Archaeology, who was involved with the discovery, notes that the subject of the sculpture was 'probably chosen to appease Jupiter and depicts his eagle triumphing over a snake that represents evil' (Griffiths and Wilkes 2013).

strives after the eagle's eggs; therefore the eagle carries the snake off whenever it is seen' (*Nat*.*Hist*.10.5.17).

The significance of Vergil's simile becomes clear when considered together with a similar passage from the *Iliad*. In Book 12, Hector and Polydamas are leading the Trojans in an assault on the Greek camp, when suddenly as they are about to cross the camp's defensive trench, an omen appears:

> For a bird came upon them, while they were eager to cross over [the trench], a high-soaring eagle flew over the Trojan army on the left, carrying in its talons a blood-red, monstrous snake, still alive and struggling. Yet the snake was not forgetful of the joy of combat, it bent itself backwards and struck the eagle that held it on the breast beside the neck; the eagle, overcome by pain, let the snake fall to the ground, and dropped it among the troops, and with a loud cry the eagle flew along the blasts of the wind. The Trojans shuddered when they saw the snake lie wriggling in their midst, a portent of aegis-bearing Zeus.
>
> (*Il*.12.200-209)

The omen is interpreted by Polydamas who warns Hector that their assault on the Greek camp will fail just like the eagle failed to return the snake to its nest (*Il*.12.217-225). Polydamas correctly reads the portent as the Trojan assault fails and ultimately Troy's destruction is already sealed. Bearing this in mind, Vergil's simile takes on an even greater significance than just comparing Tarchon's perseverance to that of an eagle.[142] In the *Iliad* the omen does not bode well for the Trojans. Any hope of victory they have is very slight, whereas in the *Aeneid*, Tarchon, although not a Trojan himself, fights for Trojan interests and is successful. I suggest that Vergil intentionally did this, taking an image of Trojan failure and turning it into one of Trojan victory.[143]

[142] Roman-ness may also be at play here. Tarchon was according to tradition (Strabo *Geog*.5.2.2) the founder of Tarquinii, one of the Etruscan Dodecapoli (Dennis 1883:417-418). Vergil may have placed Tarchon in the *Aeneid* to reflect the loyalty the Etruscans exhibited during the Social War (91 -88 BCE), who remained loyal to Rome during the conflict (Bispham 2007:163). The pro-Trojan Tarchon also stands in contrast to the exiled Etruscan king Mezentius, who is noted for his cruelty (*Aen*.7.648).

[143] Horsfall notes that Vergil may have been influenced by the story of a raven settling on Valerius' helmet, who was engaged in single combat with a Gallic warrior: 'rising on its wings, the [raven] attacked the face and eyes of the enemy with its beak and talons' (*Ab Urb*.*Cond*.7.26.5).
Vergil's eagle appears to echo the description of the raven as it also employs its talons and beak to help a warrior who fights for Troy (Horsfall 2003:405).

2.9 Snakes in *Aeneid* 12

Snakes make their final appearance near the very end of the epic. Jupiter desires to separate Juturna from her brother Turnus (*Aen*.12.843) so that she may offer him no further assistance. To execute this play, Jupiter summons the Furies:

> There are said to be two plagues, called by name the Furies, whom with Tartarean Megaera dismal Night once bore at a single and self-same birth; their mother wrapped them alike with the coils of serpents and gave them wings to rouse the winds.
>
> (*Aen*.12.845-848)

Here we learn for the first time the name of the third sister, Megaera. Like her sisters Allecto and Tisiphone, referred to as twin plagues (*geminae pestes*, *Aen*.12.845), Megaera has the characteristic attributes of a Fury, snakes (*serpentum*, *Aen*.12.848). Mackie remarks that the presence of Furies at Jupiter's throne is novel (1992:353), for in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* they are cut off from his presence: 'but Zeus has deemed this blood-dripping and detestable band as unworthy of his company' (*Eum*.365); however, here as in Book 7, the Furies interact with a deity. Mackie argues that the significance of the Furies' appearance at the summons of Jupiter is that they are 'agents of his divine will' (1992:357). Jupiter sends one of the Furies in the form of a small bird to Juturna who immediately recognises this as a sign of Jupiter's will (*Aen*.12.869-886) and consequently returns to her stream.[144] The way to Turnus now stands open, as he will have no aid in his battle against Aeneas (*Aen*.12.887-952). As we have already seen, snakes and Furies are intimately linked and here that union is revealed to have begun in infancy when their mother instead of wrapping them in swaddling, wrapped them in the coils of serpents (*serpentum spiris*, *Aen*.12.848).

[144] More will be said about the small bird referred to here in Section 6.3.3

2.10 Conclusion

Vergil examined the snake in greater depth than his Greek counterpart. Homer most often associates snakes with omens or within contexts suggestive of war. Where Vergil does align snakes with destruction, he goes beyond Homer's characterisation of them as merely representations of danger, he focuses on the snake's responses and behaviour: the twin serpents of the Laocoon episode (*Aen*.2.201-227) exhibit intelligence, the snake in the Androgeos simile (*Aen*.2.378-382) actively responds to being trodden on, and the snake of the Pyrrhus simile (*Aen*.2.469-475) darts it three-forked tongue out in anger. A more important difference is the novel way in which Vergil characterises the benevolent snake in the reference to Anchises' tomb (*Aen*.5.84-96). The scared snake of Aesculapius, the household snake, and the guardian snake may have contributed to Vergil's characterisation of the snake as more than an object of danger.

Even though one *good* snake appears in the *Aeneid*, the majority of serpentine references are frightening and ominous. The snakes are the Furies' prop of choice and serve to heighten their terrible and frightening appearance (*Aen*.2.280-281). Like the Furies, Cerberus' serpents also evoke feelings of fear and horror (*Aen*.6.419-421). In both these instances the snakes are props, but in the hands of Allecto a snake is a dangerous weapon; it breaths madness into Amata (*Aen*.7.346-358), making her run amok through the city (*Aen*.7.373-377). This scene, as I have mentioned above, is noticeably novel and may be have been influenced by the initiation rituals of Sabazius.

Of all the wild animals that appear in the *Aeneid*, snakes are the most numerous, occurring 32 times. A reason for this may be in the versatility the snake offered Vergil. As I have already mentioned, attitudes to snakes evoked a wide range of feelings, from admiration to fear, and this is what made the snake an interesting image to Vergil. He manipulates serpentine imagery in the *Aeneid* to encompass a wide range of responses from his readers, while at the same time focuses on the snake's behaviour.

Chapter 3: The Lion

3.1 The Greek Lion

The ancient Greeks perceived the lion as an aggressive animal, an association which is emphasised in both art and literature. In the Archaic period (800 – 480 BCE), lions were frequently depicted striking an attacking pose in architectural sculpture from Athens and Delphi (Markoe 1989:86). In each case the composition consists of one or two lions shown attacking a defenceless prey, and although individual details vary from one example to the next, the lion is nearly always the victor in the struggle (Markoe 1989:86). The lion attack motif was also a popular subject in Greek vase painting. The *Menelas Stand* by the Polyphemus Painter (ca. 670 BCE), once housed in the Antikensammlung in Berlin, but lost during the War, juxtaposes a lion attack with a heroic scene taken from the *Iliad*: the bowl depicts a lion attacking a deer on either side, while the main frieze on the stand shows a procession of warriors (Markoe 1989:92). The artist identifies the leader as Menelas, the Doric form of Menelaus, with an inscription, leaving no doubt as to the Homeric context of the scene (Liddell Scott and Jones 1996:1102). Markoe argues that the emergence of lion imagery in both architectural sculpture and vase painting of the 8th and 7th century BCE is rooted in Homeric epic, since the date of the creation of the pictorial imagery and epic overlap; it could hardly have been coincidence (1989:92).

The sheer number of lion references in the *Iliad* would have offered Archaic artists a wealth of inspiration to draw from. The lion occurs 48 times in the *Iliad* and of those 28 are extended similes in which heroes are compared to a lion attacking domestic or wild animals (Alden 2005:335). The lion similes are generally associated with heroes of the highest order such as Diomedes:[145]

> Then he took the two sons of Priam, Dardanus' son, Echemmon and Chromion who were both in a single chariot. Like a lion that leaps among the cattle and breaks the neck of a heifer or bullock while they graze in a thicket; so did Diomedes, Tydeus' son, cruelly thrust both of them out of the chariot against their will, and then stripped them of their armour.
>
> (*Il*.5.159-164)

The simile dramatically captures the violence and speed of Diomedes' assault on Echemmon and Chromion. The lion leaps among the kine (θοῳὼν, *Il*.5.162) breaks the necks of a heifer or bullock

[145] Some others include Achilles (*Il*.20.164; 24.41), Hector (*Il*.12.41; 15.271), Ajax (*Il*.11.548) and Agamemnon (*Il*.11.113; 11.173).

(ἄξη, *Il*.5.162), which echoes the violence of Diomedes' actions against the two boys (λάβε, *Il*.5.159 and βῆσε κακῶς, *Il*.5.164). The sons of Priam are a pitiable sight; they may be unwilling to leave the safety of their chariot (ἀέκοντας, 164) but like the cattle, they are hopelessly ill-suited to face Diomedes. In this simile the lion attacks domestic animals, which Shipp notes is a recurring situation in most of the *Iliad*'s lion similes (1972:212). He argues that the lion is seldom hunted as sport, but mostly hunted because it is a menace to flocks and herds (Shipp 1972:213). Homer, Shipp says, modelled his similes on the world around him, and if this is the case, then the *Iliad*'s lion similes reveal that lions were a contemporary reality, and moreover a serious hazard to human activity (1972:212).[146] Writing a few centuries after Homer, Herodotus notes that lions also inhabited northern Greece:

> The boundary of the lions' region is the river Nestus which flows through Abdera and the river Achelous which flows through Acarnania.[147]
>
> (*Hist*.7.126.1)

More interestingly, Herodotus also recounts that lions are a menace to domestic animals, in this case camels:

> While [Xerxes] marched along this route [over Mt Dysoron], lions attacked the camels which carried provisions. For the lions frequently came down out of their lairs at night, and leaving behind their abodes, they slaughtered the camels alone, and did not set upon anything else, neither beast of burden nor man.[148]
>
> (*Hist*.7.125.1)

The event of which Herodotus speaks is Xerxes' invasion of Greece (480 - 479 BCE) when he passed through Macedonia on his way to Athens (Boardman and Hammond 1982:31). The reason why the lions went in particular for the camels and not the other beasts of burden or men is not explained. It may be that the camels were in some way especially vulnerable. In any case,

[146] Lions were found in Asia Minor at the time of Homer (Voultsiadou and Tatolas 2005:1880).
[147] Abdera was an ancient city founded in Thrace on the Achelous River (Boardman, Edwards and Hammond 1991:199). Acarnania is a coastal region of west-central Greece that lies along the Ionian Sea (Boardman, Edwards and Hammond 1991:270). Nestus is a river in Thrace, and is also called the Nessus (Lewis and Short 1980:1204).
[148] The route by which Xerxes passed through Macedonia went over Mount Dysoros (north of Thessalonica) and was of strategic importance as there were rich silver veins (Boardman, Edwards, and Hammond 1991:595).

Herodotus' account illustrates that lions were a real hazard and posed a serious threat to domestic animals, which aligns with Shipp's observation on the context of Homer's lion similes.

Lions, however, were not only perceived as a threat, they were also regarded as courageous animals as Herodotus reveals:

> Now this was the vision which appeared to Hipparchus as he slept: on the night before the Panathenaea Hipparchus thought that a tall and handsome man stood near him and spoke these riddling verses: 'Lion, suffering with a courageous spirit, endure the unbearable. No man who does wrong will escape punishment.'
>
> (*Hist*.5.56.1)

Hipparchus was the younger brother of Hippias, who was the tyrant of Athens (527 – 510 BCE) (Ure 1961:428). The dream which Herodotus narrates took place the night before Hipparchus' assassination by Harmodius and Aristogiton in 514 BCE (Benardete 1969:143). The dream is described in vivid detail: a tall and handsome man appeared to him, but spoke in 'riddling verses.' The meaning of these enigmatic lines caused Hipparchus to consult dream-interpreters, but either on their advice or of his own accord went ahead with the procession at the Panathenaea during which he was killed (Dodson 2009:91). It is thanks to Herodotus' retrospective retelling of the dream that its implications can be understood. The lion is Hipparchus himself who must endure 'the unbearable'—his death—while the second half of the line refers to his brother Hippias, who reigned for four years thereafter, becoming even harsher in his rule (Benardete 1969:143). What is of more importance here is what the dream reveals about lions: that they were closely associated with courage and endurance, both noble qualities.

In addition to its noble qualities, the lion also came to be associated with omens heralding the birth of a prodigious son:[149]

> [Agariste] lived together with Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, in wedlock, and when with child, she saw a vision in her sleep, and thought that she gave birth to a lion. After a few days she brought forth for Xanthippus a son, Pericles.
>
> (*Hist.*6.131.2)

[149] Plutarch recounts the same event: 'In her dreams, [Agariste] thought that she gave birth to a lion, and a few days later she gave birth to Pericles' (*Per*.3.2). From Bernadotte's Greek text (1959-1967).

The lion seen by Agariste in her dream signals the birth of a remarkable child.[150] Pericles was born in 495 BCE, and, by most accounts (Thucydides *Hist*.1.24-2.65 and Plutarch *Pericles*), it would seem that Pericles fulfilled the omen, since he was praised for his military skill and oratorical prowess (Gomme 1961b:664).[151] The lion is also connected with the birth of Alexander the Great, whose father Philip II experienced a prophetic dream which Plutarch (46 – 120 CE) narrates:

> And Philip, at a later time after his marriage, saw in his dream that he was affixing a seal on his wife's womb; and the emblem of the seal, as he thought, was the image of a lion. The other dream-interpreters viewed his vision with suspicion, warning that Philip needed to keep a closer watch on his marriage, but Aristander of Telmessus said that the woman was with child, for nothing empty was sealed up, and furthermore that she was carrying a son, a child who will be courageous and lion-like.
>
> (*Alex*.2.2-2.3)[152]

Aristander reveals the double meaning of the omen.[153] Firstly the seal implies that Philip's wife, Olympias is pregnant, while the image of the lion foreshadows the character of the boy. [154] Like Pericles, Alexander fulfilled the omen's expectations; ancient historians such as Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch and Arrian, remarked on his strategic skills and personal courage in battle (Griffith 1961:34). The seal's lion image has another important meaning when we consider Alexander's devotion to Achilles. Robin Fox notes that the *Iliad* was Alexander's favourite book and that even in his youth, Alexander emulated Achilles, earning the nickname 'Achilles' from his first tutor Lysimachus (Fox 2004:57). Of all the heroes in the *Iliad*, Achilles is perhaps the most lion-like in his boldness and eagerness for battle (Lonsdale 1990:5); Alexander is then not only like a lion,

---

[150] Other scholars disagree. Moles notes that the birth of the Corinthian tyrant Cypselus (*Hist*.5.92b.3) is also heralded by a lion, and argues that Herodotus 'subtly undermines' Pericles by suggesting a similar birth (2002:42). Although Herodotus calls Cypselus bloodthirsty (*Hist*.5.92e.2), later authors, such as Aristotle noted that he ruled Corinth without a bodyguard and was popular with the citizens (*Pol*.5.1315b27).
[151] Snakes were also closely associated with the birth of illustrious men: Scipio Africanus was according to popular belief fathered by a serpent that frequented his mother's bedchamber (Livy *Ab.Urb.Con*.26.19.), while Olympias claimed that Alexander was fathered by a snake (Plutarch *Alex*.2.6, 3.2, 3.3).
[152] From Bernadotte's Greek text of Plutarch's *Lives* (1959-1967).
[153] Aristander of Telmessus (ca. 380 BCE) was a close confidant of Alexander and served him as his personal seer (Nice 2005:87). Aristander' fame as seer was praised by many subsequent authors in antiquity: Curtius (*Hist.Alex.Mag*.42.14), Arrian (*Anab.Alex*.3.2.2) and Artemidorus (*Oneir*.4.23.1).
[154] Lions are also connected with the birth of Romulus and Remus as Cassandra foretells in Lycophron's (ca.3rd century BCE) *Alexandra*: 'a certain kinsman of mine will leave two lion whelps, offspring eminent in strength; he is the son of Aphrodite Castina also called Cheiras' (*Alex*.1232-1234). From Mair's Greek text (1921). Although her prophecy is obscure, the cubs likely refer to Romulus and Remus as ῥώμη γένος implies 'offspring in Rome.' In addition the prophecy alludes to Aeneas, the son of Aphrodite/Venus, whom according to Roman tradition was the twins' ancestor through their grandfather Numitor (Ovid *Fast*.4.37-56; Livy *Ab Urb.Cond*.1.3.1-10).

but also like Achilles.[155] In both Pericles' and Alexander's case, the lion omen foreshadows the bravery and excellence of their adult lives.

However, in Aristophanes' *Equites* the lion omen is turned topsy-turvy, when it is applied to an un-lion-like character:

> Cleon: Listen, my friend, and then decide: 'There is a woman, and she will give birth to a lion in holy Athens; one who will fight for the people against a cloud of gnats, as if standing in defence of his whelp; you must keep watch over him, building a wooden wall and an iron tower.' Do you understand what he says?
>
> Demos: No, by Apollo, I am confounded.
>
> Cleon: The god is clearly telling you to keep me safe, for in place of the lion, I am your lion.
>
> Demos: Yet how can it be, you have become an Antileon and escaped my notice?
>
> (*Eq*.1036-1044)[156]

The play premiered in 424 BCE and attacks the historical Cleon who was then at the height of his political power in Athens (Gomme 1961a:204). Aristophanes was careful not to mention Cleon by name in the play, but rather calls him Paphlagon; however, the allusion to the real Cleon is clear. The omen which Cleon relates to Demos, an elderly Athenian who represents the Athenian people, is a parody of the one by Herodotus, quoted above. This is rather fitting since Cleon was a bitter rival of Pericles, and twice attacked him in political speeches in 431 and 430 BCE (Gomme 1961a:204). Cleon hoodwinks Demos by pointing out that he is the lion in the oracle who will defend against 'gnats', that is to say rival politicians (Sommerstein 1981:199). It is at this point that Cleon's scheme falls apart, since Demos' reply betrays a further joke. The 'Antileon' which Cleon becomes literally means the anti-lion and is also the name of an early tyrant of Calchis mentioned by Aristotle (*Pol*.5.1316a29-32) and Solon (*Frag*. 33 West). The not so subtle butt at Cleon's expense would not have been lost on Aristophanes' audience, who were presumably well acquainted with the tale of Pericles' birth and Antileon of Calchis (Lloyd-Jones 1975:197).[157]

[155] Achilles-lion similes will be discussed below.
[156] From the Greek text by Hall and Geldart (1907).
[157] In the *Vespae* 1232-1235 Aristophanes compares Cleon to another tyrant, Pittacus of Mytilene (Sommerstein 1981:199).

Leaving aside epic and omen-related lion references, natural histories also provide a wealth of information about the lion's eating habits and character. Aristotle remarks that the lion greedily devours its food:

> The lion is a flesh-eater, like the other savage and sharp-toothed creatures. The lion violently and greedily devours its food, and often gulps it whole without dividing it apart; then it fasts for two or three days since it is able to do so on account of being overfull.
>
> (*Hist.Anim*.8.5.594b18-20)

Aristotle classes the lion as a carnivorous creature with sharp teeth. This, however, was already common knowledge as the epic and pictorial lion references reveal. His observation that the lion eats its food violently and greedily echoes what modern zoologists have observed: at every meal there are frequent 'bouts of gnashing and growling' as each lion competes for a share (Jackson 2010:44).[158] Aristotle, however, is wrong about the lion fasting when overfull, as lions have been observed making another kill even though well-fed (Jackson 2010:44).[159] In his description of the lion's character, on the other hand, Aristotle is more accurate:

> The lion's nature is neither shy, nor is it suspicious, for it is very fond of playing with animals that have been reared along with it, and a lion shows great affection to those it is accustomed to. In the chase, while the lion is in view, it never runs away and crouches in fear, but even if it is forced by the blast of hunters to withdraw, it retreats step by step with its hind foot following its fore foot, and turns back to look at its pursuers now and then.
>
> (*Hist.Anim*.9.44.629b8-15)

Aristotle characterises the lion as a confident animal, a trait that modern zoologists have also noted; the lion is the most 'gregarious of any of the other great cats' and exhibits a 'strong need to form social bonds' (Jackson 2010:29; 77). This need is so strong that captive lions will sometimes develop friendships with other animals when deprived of leonine company (Jackson 2010:78).[160] The lion is not only a highly sociable animal, it is also proud and courageous, even when it its being hunted. Aristotle describes how the lion, when in view of its pursuers, neither

[158] Lions behave in this way even when there is an abundance of food, and no concessions are made for cubs or younger lions, often leaving them the first to go hungry (Jackson 2010:44).
[159] Perhaps the most striking mistake concerning lions that Aristotle made is that he said the lioness bears five cubs at the first birth, and then one less every subsequent year, eventually becoming barren (*Hist.Anim*.6.30.579b9-12). William Ogle (1882) who translated Aristotle's *Parts of Animals* commented that Aristotle was ill-informed about the lion's physiology since he claimed that the lion only has one bone in its neck (*De.Part.Anim*.4.10).
[160] When the royal menagerie at Versailles was disbanded in the wake of the French Revolution, a lion and its canine companion were transferred to the Jardin des plantes in Paris in 1793 (Burkhardt 2001:62).

runs nor hides, but retreats calmly away from the danger, and ventures a glance back as if to show its pursuers its disdain. We have already come across the image of the courageous lion in both Greek art and Homeric epic, and what Aristotle has to say corroborates these earlier sources. Aristotle does not describe the capturing and taming of lions; however, Xenophon (431 – 354 BCE) and Isocrates (436 – 338 BCE) provide some insight into this aspect. In his *Cynegeticus*, Xenophon explains that lions and other wild beasts can be caught by being poisoned:

> On the mountains, because of the rough terrain, some of these animals are captured by being poisoned by aconite.[161]
>
> (*Cyne.*11.2)[162]

Braver men can attempt to intercept the animals at night:

> Some beasts, while going down to the plain at night, are intercepted by bands of mounted and armed men, and so captured, but this poses a serious risk to the captors.
>
> (*Cyne.*11.3)

A third method is to set a trap for them:

> In some cases, the hunters dig a circular trench quite deep, and in the middle they leave a pillar of earth. Having tied up a goat, they place it on the pillar, and they stop up the trench with wood, leaving no entrance so that the animals cannot see what lies ahead. When the goat's bleating is heard in the night, the beasts run around the barrier, and discovering no passage, leap over it and are caught.
>
> (*Cyne.*11.4)

The use of aconite or wolf's bane would sedate the animal, but according to Theophrastus (371 – 287 BCE) this was very risky, as even the slightest mistake in dosage would result in death (*Hist.Plant*.9.16.4-5).[163] Attempting to capture the creatures at night, as Xenophon says, is dangerous for the hunters, and would presumably only be attempted by experienced men. The third method illustrates to what lengths hunters were prepared to go in employing ingenious traps to capture lions and other wild beasts; this method also ensured the safety of the beast and

[161] Aristotle also speaks of aconite, but calls it παρδαλιαγχές ('panther's bane', *Hist.Anim*.9.6.612a7-9) and notes that it is also lethal to lions.
[162] From the Greek text of Marchant (1946).
[163] Theophrastus notes that aconite takes its name from Akonai a Mariandynian village in Asia Minor. The plant's lethality was such that Theophrastus says: 'it is not even allowed to have it in one's possession, but under penalty of death' (*Hist.Plant*.9.16.7). From Hort's Greek text (1916).

hunter—poor goat though. Captors of wild beast would have no difficulty in finding willing buyers since animal exhibitions and processions were frequent in Athens as Isocrates says:

> But the most marvellous of all, they view in the public games which are held each year lions which are more gently disposed to their trainers than some men are to those who do them well.
>
> (*Antid*.213)[164]

The public games Isocrates speaks of occurred annually in Athens, and included bears who were taught to dance and wrestle. The attraction was to see lions and bears behaving 'civilised', no doubt a testament to the skill of the trainers, who were so thorough in their training that the lions show greater affection to them than some human beings to one another (Shelton 2014:466).

Athens was not the only city that sported animal shows; one of the most famous occurred in Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy II (309 – 247 BCE) in 275 BCE (Coleman 1996:49). Ptolemy II's spectacle took the form of an elaborate procession that passed through the stadium of Alexandria (Jennison 1937:30). The hundreds of animals that partook in the procession included elephants, lions, leopards, camels, and a rhinoceros, amongst others (Kalof 2007:36).

[164] From Norlin's (1929) Greek text.

3.2 The Romans and the Lion

The citizens of Rome enjoyed access to animal spectacles on a scale that exceeded any similar shows in the Greek world. By the 2nd century BCE, Roman citizens came to expect that politicians would display lions and other wild animals for their amusement. When Marcus Fulvius Nobilior returned in triumph from his victory over the Aetolian League (189 BCE), he put on magnificent games which included lions and panthers.[165] The games that Nobilior hosted were the first to include a lion hunt, the year was 186 BCE (Toynbee 1973:17). Some senators, however, feared that ambitious politicians like Nobilior might use the popularity that they gained from hosting animal hunts to further their political careers (Epplett 2014:507). This led to the Senate issuing a prohibition on the import of African animals.[166] The prohibition was enacted in 186 BCE, the same year as Nobilior's games (Epplett 2014:507). The decision, however, was overturned 16 years later by Gaius Aufidius in 170 BCE.[167]

The relatively quick overturn of the ban underscores how great the demand for animal spectacles was among the Roman populace. It comes as no surprise that Gaius Aufidius, who represented the plebs, was the one to repeal the ban since he spoke for the populace and not the senatorial class (Epplett 2014:507). The citizens of Rome demanded more elaborate and violent animal spectacles, and less than a century later, Scaevola was more than happy to oblige them. In 104 BCE, when Scaevola was aedile, he put on the first combat of several lions in Rome (Epplett 2014:508):

> A multitude of lions fighting at the same time was for the time presented in Rome by Quintus Scaevola, the son of Publius, when he was curule aedile.
>
> (*Nat.Hist*.8.20.53)

The earlier lion hunt (*venatio*) of Nobilior, now gives way to lion combat (*pugna*). Christopher Epplett notes that *venatio*, in the context of public games, denotes either animals fighting against each other, or human performers (*venatores*) confronting beasts in the arena, and therefore what specific events were included in Nobilior's games cannot be known for sure (2014:507). In the

[165] Livy's description of the event: 'also a contest of athletes was then for the first time shown to the Romans, and a hunt of lions and panthers was given, and the games, in their number and variety, were celebrated in a way almost like that of the present age' (*Ab.Urb.Cond.*39.22.2).
[166] Pliny comments: 'there was an old decree of the Senate that forbid the importation of African beasts into Italy' (*Nat.Hist*.8.24.64).
[167] Pliny: 'when Gaius Aufidius was tribune of the plebs, he brought a resolution in the assembly of the people against this ban, and permitted that [Afican beasts] be imported for games in the Circus' (*Nat.Hist*.8.24.64).

case of Scaevola's lion combat (*pugna*), however, it is clear that animal on animal violence is the central event. Epplett suggests that animal hunts became more violent in response to the popularity of gladiatorial shows (2014:507).

By the time of Sulla (138 – 78 BCE) the animal spectacles became more elaborate and involved increasingly larger numbers of animals. The public's demand for such entertainment was so great that when Sulla offered himself as a candidate for the city praetorship he lost:

> For [Sulla] says that they knew about his friendship with Bocchus, and expected, if he would be made aedile before praetor, that brilliant hunting games and combats of Libyan wild animals would be hosted.
>
> (Plutarch *Sull*.5.1)

The Roman public expected that mid-level magistrates, aediles, like Sulla would stage animal spectacles as part of their civic duties, and knew that Sulla's friendship with Bocchus would ensure a steady supply of wild beasts from Libya.[168] It was only after fulfilling the public's wish for elaborate animal hunts that Sulla eventually became praetor in 93 BCE (Sherwin-White 1961:866). While praetor Sulla continued to host animal spectacles to garner popularity:

> Lucius Sulla, who was afterwards dictator, however, was the first of all to exhibit a fight of a hundred lions with manes during his praetorship.[169]
>
> (*Nat*.*Hist*.8.20.53)

Sulla's show proved another first for Rome; a hundred lions in combat. The spectacles became increasingly more extravagant, as if each Roman politician wished to outdo their predecessors in magnificence. Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar proved no exception, and both included lions in their respective shows:

> After [Sulla] Pompey the Great put on a show in the Circus of 600 lions, of which 315 had manes, and Caesar, the dictator, 400.
>
> (*Nat*.*Hist*.8.20.53)

[168] Bocchus was king of Mauretania during the Jugurthine War and later handed over Jugurtha to Sulla (Dunbabin 1961:139).
[169] Seneca (4 BCE – 65 CE) sheds some light on the novelty of Sulla's lion display: 'it was Lucius Sulla who was the first to present lions roaming free in the Circus, although at other times they were exhibited in chains, and they were killed by javelin men sent by King Bocchus' (*De Brevi.Vita.*13.6). From the Latin text of Basore (1932).

Pompey's show included both maned and maneless lions, and took place in 55 BCE, presumably to coincide with the dedication of his theatre (Epplett 2001a:254).[170] The lions Caesar exhibited were also featured at an important event, namely his quadruple triumph in 46 BCE. Of all the animal spectacles spoken of thus far, the ones put on by Augustus surpass all others in variety and number:

> I gave beast-hunts of African beasts in my own name or in that of my sons and grandsons in the circus or forum or amphitheatre on twenty-six occasions, on which about 3,500 beasts were destroyed.
>
> (*Res Gest*.22.3)[171]

Allowing for hyperbole, the magnitude of the slaughter was significant, and must have included a good number of lions (Toynbee 1973:18). Lions were not only featured in violent hunts or combats, sometimes they appeared in processions. One such example is the procession staged by Mark Antony in 48 BCE while Julius Caesar was campaigning in the east (Epplett 2001a:256):

> Mark Antony put lions under the yoke and was the first at Rome to harness them to a chariot, and this during the civil war, after the battle on the plains of Pharsalia; not without in some way a portent of the times, an omen foreshadowing that generous spirits would submit to a yoke. For the fact that he rode in such a manner with the actress Cytheris by his side was a sight that eclipsed even all others of those calamitous years.
>
> (*Nat*.*Hist*.8.21.55)

The sight of Antony being pulled in a chariot by lions in the company of Cytheris was not well received as Pliny reveals.[172] One of the main objections was Cytheris herself. She was a freedwoman who gained fame as an actress in the mime (Pomeroy 1995:198), however, her role as a courtesan earned her a great deal of notoriety.[173] Added to this she was the mistress of many famous Roman personalities such as Brutus the Younger, the elegist Cornelius Gallus, and Mark

---

[170] Although Aristotle distinguishes two types of lions, one is stockier and has a shaggier mane while another is larger and has a smoother mane (*Hist.Anim*.9.44.629b33-35), he never suggests that there was a maneless type. Pliny the Elder on the other hand notes that male lions sired by leopards mating with lionesses lack the characteristic mane of normal male lions (*Nat.Hist*.8.17.42). Of all the ancient natural historians, Pliny is the only one to mention this anomaly (Bliquez 1975:384).Lawrence Bliquez notes that various species of great cats had been crossed in zoos resulting in hybrids (1975:348). This phenomenon, however, has not been observed under natural conditions as Bilquez points out (1975:384).

[171] From the Latin text of Brunt and Moore (1983).

[172] Plutarch also remarks about Antony's display, contrasting its extravagance with the Spartan lifestyle of Julius Caesar who was still on campaign (*Ant*.9.3-6).

[173] Cicero in his *Philippics* underscores the impropriety of Cytheris' appearance in Mark Antony's retinue (*Phil*.2.58).

Antony himself.[174] The other objection was the pure audacity of having lions pull his chariot, for this mode of transport was usually reserved for Dionysus (Otto 1965:111-112), and Cybele in particular (Epplett 2001a:256; Wilhelm 1988: 84-86 and Godwin 1981:114).[175] Antony's divine mode of transport suggests that he was inviting a comparison between himself and the gods; a spectacle that smacks of hubris.

So far I have examined lions within the context of animal spectacles, but an equally important point concerns their procurement. Epplett notes that there is relatively little surviving evidence concerning the actual infrastructure and organisation behind the requisition of animals for the games (2001b:210). During the empire the Roman army was actively involved in obtaining lions and other animals for the games, however, during the republic, politicians relied on more impromptu means (Epplett 2001b:210). Sulla for example, obtained lions from his ally, King Bocchus of Mauretania (Jennison 1937:53). Pompey and Caesar likely obtained their sources of lions from states that they had subjugated (Epplett 2001b:210).[176] As for the method of capturing lions, Pliny describes it in some detail:

> The capturing of lions was once a difficult task, and it was mostly done by using pitfalls. During the reign of the Emperor Claudius an accident taught a Gaetulian shepherd a method which is almost shameful to the name of such a wild animal; when a lion was charging violently towards him, he flung a cloak against its onslaught. This deed was immediately transferred to the arena as a spectacle; in a manner that almost beggars belief, the lion's great fury was dulled so effectively when a light cover was thrown over its head that it was tied up without putting up a fight.
>
> (*Nat.Hist*.8.21.54)

The earlier method to which Pliny refers is that described by Xenophon in his *Cynegeticus* 11.2-4, however, during the reign of Claudius (10 BCE – 54 CE) an accident taught a Gaetulian shepherd an easier method.[177] Pliny's remarks that the shepherd's observation was quickly

---

[174] Gallus' infatuation with Cytheris, whom he named Lycoris, served as the theme for his friend Vergil's tenth *Eclogue* (Pomeroy 1995:199).

[175] In Book 4 of the *Fasti*, the poet-narrator inquires why lions pull Cybele's chariot: 'I began: "Why do the fierce race of lions yield their unaccustomed manes to the goddess' curved yokes?" I ended. She began: "It is believed that the lion's wildness was tamed by the goddess; this she has testified by her own [lion drawn] chariot"' (*Fasti*.4.215-218).
Cybele was already closely associated with lions in the Greek world as *Philoctetes* by Sophocles' (ca. 497 – ca. 406 BCE) reveals. The chorus invokes the goddess saying: 'Oh blessed lady, you who sits upon bull-killing lions' (*Phil*.400-402). From the text by Storr (1913).

[176] Pompey was patron to Ptolemy XII (ca. 112 – 51 BCE) who may have supplied lions from Africa (Epplett 2001a:27). Caesar on the other hand most likely obtained lions from Syria or Mesopotamia (Jennison 1937:56).

[177] Details about the shepherd and Pliny's source for the tale are unknown.

transferred to the arena as an act illustrates the great hunger for novelty among Roman spectators. Louis Robert notes that several Roman reliefs from the Greek east depict *venatores* (animal trainers) using coloured cloaks on wild cats in the arena (1950:41-43; n.329), which corroborates Pliny's statements. Although the method seems to be affective, Pliny comments that it is embarrassing for a creature such as a lion to be subdued in this way. His statement betrays what he and his fellow countrymen thought about the lion. Although the lion was a spectacle in the arena, it did not detract from the creature's perceived nobility. The notion that the lion is a noble creature is further emphasised by Pliny, when he says that the animal can show mercy:

> Of wild animals the lion alone is merciful to supplicants. It shows mercy to those prostrated before it, and when in a fury, it directs its rage toward men rather than women, and only towards children when starved.
>
> (*Nat*.*Hist*.8.19.48)

Pliny goes on to say that he learnt this information from Juba II of Mauretania; however, none of Juba's original works remain.[178] Regardless of the validity of the claim, the passage illustrates that lions were thought capable of human emotions like mercy. Even when angry the lion somehow recognises that women and children are weaker and more deserving of sympathy than men, starvation however dissolves such distinctions. Falling prostrate in front of lions may earn their mercy. However, to be sure one must observe their tail for it betrays their mood:

> The tails of lions reveal their mood, like the ears of horses; for these ways of expression nature has given even to all the noblest creatures. Consequently the lion's tail is motionless when calm, and moves gently when playful, which is seldom, for the lion is more frequently prone to anger; it begins by striking the earth with its tail, and growing in anger, lashes its body, as if trying to incite itself.
>
> (*Nat*.*Hist*.8.19.49)

Lions, which lack the faculty of speech, are not expressionless for nature has provided a malleable tail to fulfil that role. To figure out if a lion is safe to approach or rather to be avoided examine its tail. It is interesting to note that Pliny says lions are seldom playful, suggesting that their default mood is anger. There are, however, stories of lions showing great affection to human beings who have helped them, such as Elpis of Samos:

[178] Juba II (50 BCE -23 CE) was a renowned author who wrote in Greek on a variety of subjects of which unfortunately none survive, however, Pliny the Elder and Plutarch reference some of his works (Momigliano 1961a:469).

> In a similar manner Elpis, a citizen of Samos when disembarking from a ship in Africa, saw a lion near the shore opening its mouth in a threatening manner, at which he sought safety in a tree and called on Father Liber for help…A bone had become stuck in the lion's teeth because it devoured its food too greedily, which prevented it from eating…At last Elpis came down from the tree and pulled out the bone for the lion, which stretched out its head that it might provide the greatest assistance to Elpis. They say that as long as the ship remained on the shore, the lion showed its gratitude by bringing game from its hunts. For this reason Elpis consecrated a temple to Father Liber in Samos, which the Greeks, on account of the event, have called the temple of Dionysus the Open Mouthed.[179]
>
> (*Nat*.*Hist*.8.21.57-58)

At first terrified by the lion, Elpis runs up a tree and prays to Liber for help.[180] Liber/Bacchus, god of wine, may seem a strange god to call on at a time like this, but the lion was one of the god's dearest creatures. The lion was not only the gods' mount or pulled his chariot[181], but also served as one of the god's special animals (Harrison 1962:129). In Greek mythology Bacchus is usually depicted as human youth, but he can assume animal form to destroy his opponents (Otto 1965:193), as Euripides' *Bacchae* reveals:

> Chorus: Appear, Bacchus, as a bull or a many-headed serpent to behold, or as a blazing lion.
>
> (*Bacch*.1017-1018)

Dionysus' ability to transform into an animal is recognised as one of his divine powers, and when the chorus invokes him, it is this ability that they stress. Dionysus' leonine form was already established at the Gigantomachy when he helped Zeus fight against the Giants as Horace illustrates:[182]

---

[179] Dionysus is not usually worshipped under the title Κεχηνὼς ('the open mouth'), however, Clement of Alexandria (*Prot*.2.32.4) reports that the city of Elis venerated a statue of Apollo κεχηνότος ('of the open mouth').

[180] Originally Liber was an old Italian god of agriculture and fertility (Lewis and Short 1980:1057). Later he came to be identified with the Greek Dionysus whose mythology he shared (Galinsky 2007a:76).

[181] In his *Oedipus*, Seneca gives a description of Bacchus' chariot: 'seated in your golden chariot, your lions covered with long caparisons, all the vast regions of the East saw you, [Bacchus], even he who drinks of the Ganges as well as anyone who breaks Araxes' icy waters' (*Oed*.424-428). From Miller's Latin text (1938).
Artistic depictions also frequently picture Bacchus riding a lion: one example (a mosaic, ca. 2nd century CE) from Roman Africa depicts the god as a child riding a lion while holding the reins in one hand and a drinking beaker in the other (Abed 2006:120).

[182] The mythical battle of the gods and giants which neither Homer nor Hesiod mention (Gantz 1993:446). Apollodorus gives a more detailed account of the battle where: 'Dionysus kills the giant Eurytus with a thyrsus' (*Bibl*.1.6.2).

> [Bacchus], when the wicked company of giants climbed through the lofty sky to your father's kingdom, you drove Rhoetus back with the terrible maw and claws of a lion.
>
> (*Carm*.2.19.21-24)

In the light of this, Elpis' choice of god seems to have been a wise one. Thanks to the god's aid the lion permitted Elpis to touch it thus removing the bone from its mouth. The lion's response to Elpis' kindness beggars belief, for as thanks the creature brought game it had killed to him.[183] We might scoff at Pliny's account as mere invention, but there is evidence of Dionysus' cult on Samnos (Gardner 1882:206).[184] Moreover, Euphorion of Chalcis, a Greek poet (ca. 276 BCE) is known to have composed a poem about the incident, which unfortunately is no longer extant (Otto 1965:111). Although this is not proof of the story's validity, it does suggest that Pliny's account is not poetic license but rather a retelling of popular folklore.

The perception of lions in classical literature had visibly undergone considerable change from the days of Homer where the lion is universally aligned with anger and danger. The change had already begun in the non-epic works of Herodotus and Aristotle, and comes across strongly in Pliny. These authors show a lion exhibiting anthropomorphic emotion and behaving in a more restrained manner as opposed to Homer's aggressive and instinctive lion. We might expect the association between aggressive lion and epic hero to have remained in the *Aeneid*. However, as we shall see, Vergil's lions reflect non-epic conceptions of the creature.

[183] Aelian (ca. 175 – ca. 235 CE, Edwards 1961a:11) recounts a similar story of Androcles, a runaway slave, who pulled a stake out of a lion in Libya (*De Nat.Anim*.8.48).
[184] Plutarch also notes the connection between Samos and Dionysus since the god killed Amazons on the island after driving them from Ephesus (*Quaest.Graec*.56).

3.3 Lions in *Aeneid* 2

The first reference to lions occurs near the end of Book 2 (679-725). In this passage a bright flame licks Iulus' hair (*Aen*.2.681-686); Anchises prays to Jupiter who confirms this omen as good with a crash of thunder and a shooting star (*Aen*.2.687-700). On the strength of these omens, Anchises consents to leave Troy with Aeneas and his family (*Aen*.2.701-704). While Aeneas prepares to depart from Troy, he hurls a lion skin over his shoulders:

> So saying, I bowed my neck and broad shoulders, and spread over them a tawny lion's skin, and then I took up my burden.
>
> (*Aen*.2.721-723)

The lion skin serves to make Anchises more comfortable as he rides on Aeneas' shoulders: 'come then, dear father, take your seat upon my back' (*Aen*.2.707). This act illustrates Aeneas concern for his father's comfort and dignity (Horsfall 2008:509). Laurens Lersch suggests that the lion skin also preserves Anchises from being defiled as Aeneas' armour is soaked in blood (1853:77). There is good reason for interpreting the lion skin in this way as Aeneas, not wishing to ritually pollute his household gods, asks Anchises to carry them: 'take in your hands, father, our sacred vessels and our ancestral household gods; for coming from the thick of battle and covered in fresh blood, I may not touch them without offending the gods, until I have bathed myself in a living stream' (*Aen*.2.717-720).[185] With this in mind, Aeneas' action of placing his father on the lion skin is not only an act of filial love, but more importantly, an act of *pietas*. The significance of Aeneas' lion skin becomes apparent when viewed alongside a similar scene from the *Iliad*. In this episode Agamemnon, distraught over the Greeks' inability to take Troy, hurries off to seek Nestor's advice:

> So [Agamemnon] sat up and clothed his breast in a tunic, and beneath his smooth feet bound beautiful sandals, and thereafter he clothed himself in the tawny skin of a great and fiery lion, which reached down to his feet, and finally took up his spear.
>
> (*Il*.10.21-25)

[185] The Roman religious taboo against blood is referenced by other authors as well. Tacitus (56 – 120 CE) describes a dream that Germanicus had before leading his legions across the Rhine: 'the same night brought Germanicus a happy dream: he saw that he had performed a sacrifice and, his purple-bordered robe sprinkled with sacred blood, received another more beautiful one from the hands of his grandmother Augusta' (*Ann*.2.14). From Jackson's text (1931).
Livy describes the infamous crime perpetrated by Tullia, the daughter of Servius Tullius: 'it is said that Tullia drove her chariot over the dead body of her father; contaminated and defiled with his blood, she carried some of her murdered father's blood to her own and her husband's household gods, whose anger ensured that the evil beginning of this reign was soon followed by a similar end' (*Ab*.*Urb*.*Cond*.1.48.7).

There is nothing unusual in Agamemnon's attire as it was natural to put something over the χιτών when going outside (Hainsworth and Kirk 1993:160).[186] The lion skin, however, carries martial connotations: 'fiery' and 'great' (αἴθωνος μεγάλοιο, Il.10.24), which are appropriate for Agamemnon's character (Hainsworth and Kirk 1993:189). With regard to Aeneas' lion skin, the situation is tellingly different. The only description Vergil gives of the lion skin is its colour, tawny (*fulvi*, *Aen*.2.722), if there is any martial connotation it is downplayed.[187] More than suggesting a latent martial side to Aeneas, the lion skin emphasises the dignity and nobility of Anchises who sits upon it (Horsfall 2008:509).

The scene of Aeneas carrying his father was a popular subject in both Greek and Roman art (Gantz 1993:714-716). However, Galinksy has drawn attention to the addition of the lion pelt which has no iconographic precedent prior to Vergil (1969:22). A possible reason for Vergil's innovation may be that he wished to identify Aeneas with Hercules whose distinctive costume was the lion skin he wore after killing the Nemean lion.[188] In the act of putting the lion skin upon his shoulders, Aeneas metaphorically assumes the mantle of Hercules, for he begins his labours in the guise of the Greek hero (Zarker 1972:36).[189] Unlike Hercules however, Aeneas labours are of a different sort. He does not have to atone for the murder of his family, but bring Troy to Italy.[190]

---

[186] Menelaus wears a leopard skin (*Il*.10.29), as does Paris (*Il*.3.17) while Dolon dons a wolf skin (*Il*.10.334).

[187] *Fulvus* is more descriptive of colour than suggestive of violence. It is frequently used to describe animals such as wolves (Vergil *Aen*.1.275), sheep-dogs (Horace *Epod*.6.5), horses (Ovid *Metam*.12.88), bulls (Pliny *Nat*.*Hist*.22.5.9), calves (Horace *Carm*.4.2.60) or simply a person's hair (Vergil *Aen*.11.642).

[188] See *Aen*.8.285-300 where Vergil references Hercules' killing of the Nemean lion.

[189] There are numerous parallels throughout the *Aeneid* between Aeneas and Hercules: both are hated by Juno, both are noted for their stature, and both descended to Hades. Classical scholars agree that Hercules stands as a model for Aeneas (Gilmartin 1968:41). Some see Hercules as a positive model such as Galinsky (1972:299-300), Cairns (1990:84), Otis (1995:334-336), Harrison (2004:46-47) and Kirichenko (2013:81); while others such as Wigodsky (1965:219), Gilmartin (1968:41-47) and Zarker (1972:34-48) argue that Hercules' display of *furor* in his struggle with Cacus in Book 8 suggests otherwise; but *furor* is not necessarily reprehensible.

Justice was on the side of the hero for Cacus had stolen the cattle while he slept (*Aen*.8.201-267). Likewise Hercules' *furor* is not senseless: when he kills the Hydra, Hercules is characterised as *non rationis egentem* ('not without thinking', *Aen*.8.299). Cicero's observation that all emotions, including anger, were subject to reason supports a more positive assessment of Hercules' *furor*: 'they consider, moreover, that all emotions arise through judgement and opinion' (*Tusc*.*Disp*.14.4). From the Latin text of King (1927).

Thus for Hercules to indulge in *furor* is not a senseless act but a wilful decision. Hercules is not only compared to Aeneas, but also to Augustus in *Aen*.6.791-807: see section 4.5 on deer.

[190] There are two main lines of thought concerning Hercules' motivation to perform the twelve labours. Euripides says that Hercules wished to return with his family to Tiryns and had promised its king, Eurystheus in return for permission that he would undertake to free the world of monsters (*Her*.17-21). Apollodorus on the other hand says that after murdering his wife Megara and children, Hercules went to the Pythia at Delphi, she in turn instructed him to serve Eurystheus for twelve years as penance (*Bib*.2.4.12).

The quest of bringing Troy to Italy is his metaphorical burden, while his literal burden is carrying Anchises and the *penates*.[191]

[191] Ovid remarks on Aeneas' burden saying: '[Aeneas], the heroic son of Venus, bore on his shoulders the sacred objects, and another sacred object, his father, a venerable burden' (*Metam*.13.624-625).

3.4 Lions in *Aeneid* 3

Book 3 narrates Aeneas' and the Trojans' travels in search for a new homeland. They first come to Thrace where Aeneas begins to found a town (*Aen*.3.13-18); however, when blood drips from branches that Aeneas has pulled up, Polydorus, whose blood it is, urges him to flee (*Aen*.3.19-68). The Trojans then sail for Delos where Anius, its king and the priest of Apollo, welcomes them (*Aen*.3.69-83). On Delos, Aeneas enters Apollo's temple and prays that the god grant the Trojans a city of their own (*Aen*.3.84-89). In response to his prayers, a voice declares that they must seek their *antiqua mater* (*Aen*.3.96). Anchises interprets their 'ancient mother' as Crete since Teucer sailed from there before coming to Troy, and Crete was also the home of Cybele, the mother of the gods:[192]

> From here [Crete] came the Mother, cultivatress on Mt. Cybelus, and the Corybants who bang their cymbals in the woods of Mount Ida; from here too, came the scared silence that guards her rites, and the yoked lions which pull the lady's chariot.
>
> (*Aen*.3.111-113)

In his description, Anchises identifies Cybele with the Titaness Rhea, who gave birth to Zeus in a cave on Mt. Ida on Crete (Gantz 1993:41).[193] Like Rhea's armed attendants, the Couretes, who danced and clashed their shields to conceal the infant Zeus' cries, Cybele's Corybants also dance and clash their cymbals in worship of the goddess. Phrygia also has a Mt. Ida which was one of Cybele' most important places of worship.[194] Unlike Rhea, however, Cybele is closely aligned with lions, an association which goes back to her Phrygian origins (Roller 1999:109-110). In both literature and art Cybele is frequently depicted as riding on the back of a lion or in chariot pulled by lions (Bell 2007:142-150), symbolising her power over wild animals and nature (Roller 1999:110). Lucretius (ca. 99 – ca. 55 BCE) also emphasises this quality when he uses the yoked lions of Cybele as a metaphor for the powers she as *natura creatrix* ('mother nature') has over nature:

---

[192] Historically Cybele was originally a Phrygian goddess from Asia Minor but by the 6th century BCE the Greek poet Hipponax identified her with Rhea (Roller 1999:170). Cybele's cult was first introduced to Rome in 204 BCE at the instigation of the Sibylline Books, and soon thereafter Roman authors like Lucretius (*De Re.Nat*.2.633-638) and Ovid (*Fast*.4.195-210) also identified her with Rhea.

[193] The Magna Mater whose name derived from Mt. Cybelus in Phrygia was also known by various other names: Mother of the Gods, Agdistis, Idaea, Dindymene, Sipylene and Pessinuntis (Strabo *Geog*.10.3.12).

[194] In *Aeneid* 9 Cybele reveals that she provided trees from her sacred mountain so that Aeneas could build a fleet (*Aen*.9.80-92).

> The old and learned poets of the Greeks celebrated the [Idaean Mother] in songs that she, seated in her chariot, drives a pair of yoked lions, teaching that the great earth hangs suspended in the expanse of air and that earth cannot rest on earth. They have yoked wild beasts [to her chariot], because offspring however wild must be tamed and subdued by the kind services of parents.
>
> (*De Re.Nat*.2.600-605)[195]

The lions represent the violent and often volatile powers of nature over which mankind has no control (Stewart 1970:81). The goddess in the guise of *natura creatrix* is the only one who can tame such raw power by yoking it to her chariot. This passage illustrates that lions are not merely an exotic from of transport for the goddess, rather they highlight her powers to tame and control, which we may call 'civilising'. Anchises also draws attention to this aspect of Cybele, when he calls her *cultrix* (*Aen*.3.111). Her role as *cultrix* may shed light on Vergil's reason for including her in the *Aeneid*, as the goddess was not associated with the Aeneas legend before Vergil (Bailey 1935:177). Another reason may be that Augustus did much to promote the cult of Cybele. In his own words the emperor boasts:

> …I built the temple of the Great Mother on the Palatine.
>
> (*Res Gest*.19.2).

This temple was built in 3 CE after the original one burnt down and was located directly next to Augustus' house on the Palatine (Wilhelm 1988:92 and Erskine 2001:213). Cybele was an attractive symbol for Augustus for two reasons. She was a goddess of civilisation and order which appealed to Augustus since he envisioned himself as *restitutor rei publicae* ('restorer of the republic') and desired to bring about the *pax Augusta* ('Augustan peace') after the long civil wars (Bell 2007:242-243). [196] More important than this was Cybele's connection with Mount Ida and Phrygia. [197] By giving Cybele a prominent place in Rome, Augustus stressed not only the city's Trojan heritage but his own since his family, the *Iulii*, claimed descent from Aeneas through his son Iulus (Wilhelm 1988:97; Erskine 2001:1; Bell 2007:122). The innovation of placing Cybele

[195] From Bailey's Latin text (1947).
[196] There was an official programme of iconography which emphasised Cybele's association with Augustus. On the armour of the *Primaporta* statue of Augustus, Cybele and Tellus are represented in the same figure (Wilhelm 1988:93). Augustus' wife Livia was also frequently depicted in the guise of Cybele as on the *Gemma Augustea* where she is depicted wearing the goddess' mural crown (Bell 2007:199; Wilhelm 1988:93).
[197] Vergil frequently calls Aeneas and the Trojans Phrygians: Aeneas is born beside Phrygian Simois (*Aen*.1.617-618), he sails Phrygian ships (*Aen*.1.182) which are decorated with Phrygian lions (*Aen*.10.156-157); Phrygian soldiers capture Sinon (*Aen*.2.68), Hector throws Phrygian fire on the Greek ships (*Aen.*2.276) and Anchises carries Phrygian *penates* (*Aen*.3.148).

within the fabric of the *Aeneid* illustrates that Vergil purposefully fused myth with contemporary Augustan Rome. By means of Cybele and her lions the message is conveyed that as Cybele tamed lions and cultivated civilisation for the Trojans and Aeneas, she would continue to do so for their and his descendants.

3.5 Lions in *Aeneid* 4

The opening lines of Book 4 (1-172) describe Dido's growing passion for Aeneas. She, however, is torn between loyalty to her dead husband Sychaeus (*Aen*.4.6-30) and her love for Aeneas. In her lovesick state Dido wanders about Carthage (*Aen*.4.66-73). At this point Juno and Venus conspire to have Aeneas and Dido meet in a cave during a storm that interrupts a hunt (*Aen*.4.90-128). At dawn the following day the hunting party assembles with Dido dressed in royal splendour and Aeneas' appearing as Apollo (*Aen*.129-151). Ascanius is also there with his father. As the hunt begins and the boy gallops across the plains, Vergil tells us that he longs for more dangerous prey than harmless wild goats and stags:

> But among the valleys young Ascanius enjoyed riding his fiery horse, passing by now these and now those at full gallop, and he wished that among the harmless herds a foaming wild boar would appear in answer to his prayers, or that a tawny lion would come down from the mountains.
>
> (*Aen*.4.156-159)

The hunters chase down a flock of wild goats (*ferae…caprae, Aen*.4.152) and a herd of stags (*agmina cervi, Aen*.4.154), but the young Ascanius desires more dangerous prey (*votis optat*, *Aen*.4.158-159). His enthusiasm is shared by his fiery horse (*acri*, *Aen*.4.156) that outruns the horses of the other hunters (*iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos*, *Aen*.4.157). Ascanius youthful display contrasts with the dark storm-clouds and hail (*commixta grandine nimbus*, *Aen*.4.160) that would send Aeneas and Dido into the cave (*Aen*.160-172); however, his zeal for the hunt should give us cause for concern.

Ascanius' enthusiasm for danger and adventure was in Roman thought a characteristic of boys on the cusp of adulthood (Rogerson 2017:145). Hunting was thought to provide an excellent opportunity for boys to prove their manliness, and among the Roman elite, fathers often took their teenage sons hunting (Vuolanto 2013:587).[198] Horace expresses this idea when he compares Drusus, Augustus' stepson, to an eagle:

> Once youth and innate strength drive him, ignorant of toils, out from his nest, and the spring winds, now that storms have passed, teach him unfamiliar flight, in spite of his fear; next he eagerly swoops

[198] Christopher Epplett explains that the Roman army often used hunting as an exercise to train young recruits in the art of combat (2001b:211). With regard to the *topos* of impetuous youths and their tendency to take risks, see the examples of Phaethon and Icarus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (*Metam*.1.746-2.400; 8.183-235).

> down on the sheep-folds with fury; then the love of food and combat drives him against struggling snakes.
>
> (*Carm*.4.5-12)

Horace vividly captures Drusus' eagerness for adventure (*laborum*, *Carm*.4.6) and his progression from inexperience (*inscium*, *Carm*.4.6; *paventem*, *Carm*.4.9) to making his first kill (*ovilia*, *Carm*.4.9) and finally to graduating to more dangerous prey (*dracones*, *Carm*.4.11). Although such instincts were praiseworthy, it was also acknowledged that the 'love of combat' might prove dangerous if unrestrained (Rogerson 2017:145). In Horace's poem Augustus serves as foil to Drusus, keeping him in line: 'what Augustus' fatherly devotion to the boys of Nero could accomplish' (*Carm*.4.27-28). Ascanius, lacking a moderating force, will soon discover how dangerous his zeal for hunting can be, when he ignites war by killing a stag.

In the Greek world, hunting was also considered an appropriate pastime for boys. Odysseus, for example, proudly boasted to his father and mother of the scar he received from a wild boar when he went out hunting with his grandfather Autolycus on Mount Parnassus:

> Then his father and his revered mother rejoiced at his [Odysseus] return, and asked him how he got his wound; he told them the whole story, how a boar had struck him with its white tusk while he was hunting after he had gone to Parnassus with the sons of Autolycus.
>
> (*Od*.19.462-466)

Odysseus' scar serves as physical proof of his manliness, and when he meets Eurycleia in disguise, she recognises him as Odysseus by the scar on his knee (*Od*.19.467-475). As Odysseus' remarks reveal, hunting in Greek thought was considered an important rite of passage for a young man to prove his coming of age as well as his readiness for war (Mackinnon 2014a:204).[199] At Sparta hunting was an integral part of a young boy's education and transition to manhood (Barringer 2001:13). As part of the *agoge*, state education which was compulsory for the sons of Spartan male citizens, boys were expected to live away from the city for a time in harsh conditions and with little food (Patterson 2013:376). With little food the boys were encouraged to steal and hunt thereby honing their survival skills. As part of a rite of passage boys, who were now about 17 – 20 (ephebe), partook in a festival of Artemis Orthia (Kennell 1995:76). If a boy who was participating was discovered to have not hunted before the ceremony he would

[199] Plato in his *Laws* argues that hunting can be a noble pursuit for instilling courage when the hunter and prey are evenly matched, however, if the hunter employs snares, nets or pits, he is lazy and unworthy of praise (*Laws*.7.824a).

have 'water poured over his head' in disgrace (Kennell 1995:77). In this situation failure to hunt would mark the young man as ritually impure since he failed to honour Artemis, the goddess of the hunt (Kennell 1995:77). Bearing all the implications that hunting had in both the Greek and Roman world, we can see how important it must have been for Ascanius to prove himself a capable hunter. That he is described as particularly eager for dangerous game, emphasises his naiveté. For only an experienced hunter could take on the likes of a lion or wild boar, not a mere boy. Only heroes of exceptional strength like Hercules can safely chase boars as he did for his fourth labour when he captured the Erymanthian Boar: [200]

> And [Hercules] chased the [boar] with shouts from some bushes, and, driving the creature to exhaustion in the deep snow, he captured it and brought it to Mycenae.[201]
>
> (*Bibl*.2.5.4)

The real dangers involved in hunting wild boars is vividly revealed by Martial (ca. 38 – 102 CE) who describes what a hunter should do when overrun by a boar: [202]

> A Hunting-knife:
>
> If you groan that your hunting-spear has been jerked out of your grasp by the [boar's] long snout, this short [hunting-knife] will meet the huge wild boar at close quarters.
>
> (*Epig*.14.31)[203]

Although Ascanius' desire to prove himself a hunter is admirable, his childish notion of hunting a wild boar or lion suggests that he is reckless. He does not appear to have considered the danger nor do his words hint at caution, which such an undertaking would demand. While he does not actually hunt, he reveals himself as overly zealous. When he does actually make a successful kill of a stag in *Aeneid* 7.496-499, his zeal proves his undoing. In an ironic twist it is the killing of an

[200] For a detailed study on the dangers of boar hunting in contemporary times see the article 'Hogs Roman and Modern Boar Hunting, Ancient and Modern' by Knapp (1935) and chapter 5 'The Hunted Boar' in the more recent book *Wild Boar* by Yamamoto (2017).
[201] Pausanias records that the Erymanthian Boar's tusks were kept in a temple of Apollo at Cumae, but he adds that is highly improbable (*Grae*.*Desc*.8.24.5).
[202] In his earlier poetry Vergil already remarks about the dangers of hunting wild boars: 'what good is it, Amyntas, that in your own heart you do not reject me, if, while you chase wild boars, I guard the nets?' (*Ecl*.3.74-75). And again: 'meanwhile I with the Nymphs shall wander on Mount Maenalus, or hunt fierce wild boars' (*Ecl*.10.55-56). Ovid also remarks about the dangers of wild-boar hunting in the tale of Venus and Adonis (*Metam*.10.713-716).
[203] From Shackleton Bailey's (1993) Latin text.

animal that he thought unworthy in *Aeneid* 4 that turns out to be far more deadly than any wild boar or lion.[204]

[204] For the discussion on Ascanius and Silvia's pet stag, see section 4.6.

3.6 Lions in *Aeneid* 5

In Book 5 the Trojans set sail from Carthage and return to Sicily where they celebrate the anniversary of Anchises' death (*Aen*.5.1-103). The celebration takes the form of sacrifice at Anchises' tomb (*Aen*.5.42-103), and on the ninth day thereafter Aeneas announces athletic contests (*Aen*.5.104-603). The contests comprise the central episode of the book and gives *Aeneid* 5 a rich narrative structure which Michel de Montaigne (1533 – 1592) recognised and praised saying: 'the fifth book of the *Aeneid* seems to me the most perfect' (*Essays*.2.10, Cohen 1993:162). It is during the events of Book 5, and in particular the contest episode that Aeneas best illustrates his leadership qualities (Fratantuono and Smith 2015:31). When Salius is tripped by Nisus during the racing event (*Aen*.5.331-333), he protests that his honour has been robbed, *pater* Aeneas ameliorates the situation by giving Salius a lion skin as prize:

> Then father Aeneas said: 'Your prizes, young friends, remain secularly yours. No one can remove the order of the prizes. But I can pity the misfortune of my innocent friend.' Thus speaking, Aeneas gave Salius a monstrous Gaetulian lion's skin, weighed down by a shaggy mane and gilded claws.
>
> (*Aen*.5.348-352)

Salius would have won one of the prizes if he had not been tripped by Nisus who acted on behalf of his friend Euryalus (*Aen*.5.334). Salius' complaint is just and he appeals to Aeneas to overturn the decision in favour of Euryalus winning (*Aen*.5.340-342). Aeneas, however, realising that this would cause upset, decides to award a lion pelt to Salius as an additional prize.[205] Aeneas' sense of fairness is expressed by his decision to not alter the 'order of the prizes.' At the same time he is fully aware of Salius' hurt pride so awards him a conciliatory prize. When Nisus, although he did not even finish the race, also asks for a prize, Aeneas' amusement at Nisus' request keeps the 'tone light and cheerful' (Ganiban et al 2012:391):

> Kindly father [Aeneas] smiled at him and ordered that a shield be brought, the work of Didymaon, which the Greeks had taken down from Neptune's sacred doorpost. He presented this exceptional gift to the noble youth.
>
> (*Aen*.5.358-361)

[205] The argument over the prizes is modelled on the aftermath of a chariot race in the *Iliad*, where Achilles gives an extra prize to Eumelus who would have won the second prize if Antilochus had not protested (*Il*.23.536-565).

The argument over the prizes could have easily spilled over into a fight, but Aeneas skilfully handles the situation so that all receive prizes and that there are no hurt egos. The choice of a lion skin for Salius is a fitting gift as his name is linked with the Salian priests who celebrate the rites of Hercules in *Aen*.8.285-300 (Hardie 1986:375; Cairns 1990:230).[206] The adjective *Gaetuli* (*Aen*.5.351) refers to a people who lived in present day Morocco (Lewis and Short 1980:799), which suggests that this is not the same lion skin Aeneas threw over his shoulders in *Aeneid* 2.721-723. The Gaetulian reference, however, calls to mind Dido, and Aeneas' sojourn in North Africa, and may explain the origin of Salius' gift. There is also an important connection between the lion skin Aeneas gives away to Salius here in Book 5 with the lion skin Aeneas receives in Book 8 from Evander (*Aen*.8.551-553). Like Salius' lion skin, the one Aeneas receives also has gilded claws (*unguibus aureis*, *Aen*.8.553). Vergil may once again be emphasising Aeneas' association with Hercules since what he gives away to Salius, Evander restores to him. This suggests that Aeneas is inextricably linked with Hercules since like the Greek hero he cannot be without a lion skin.

[206] For a description of the Salian priest episode see section 2.7.

3.7 Lions in Aeneid 7[207]

It is in Book 7 that Aeneas and the Trojans finally reach Italy, however, on their journey they pass the shores of Circe's land where the roars of wild beasts are heard:

> They closely skirted the shores of Circe's land, where the wealthy daughter of the Sun makes her unapproached groves echo with perpetual singing, and burns fragrant cedar-wood in her proud palace to light the night as she makes her shrill-sounding shuttle run across the delicate threads. From her palace was clearly heard the angry growls of lions fighting against their chains, and roaring late into the night; bristling boars and bears, penned in cages, savagely growling, were also heard, and the shapes of great wolves howling. With her powerful herbs, the cruel goddess Circe had altered their human appearance and clothed them with the faces and backs of wild animals.
>
> (*Aen*.7.10-20)

Circe is the daughter of the Sun—hence a divinity—but works at night, suggesting something sinister about her (*nocturna*, *Aen*.7.13). Her groves are 'unapproachable' which suggests that they are shunned on account of Circe's sorcery (Page 1970:159). And although Circe is wealthy (*dives*, *Aen*.7.11), she invests her surroundings not with riches but sensual pleasures, for they echo with the sound of perpetual singing (*adsiduo…cantu*, *Aen*.7.12), and the pleasant smell of burning cedar-wood (*odoratam…cedrum*, *Aen*.7.13) fills the air (Keith 2004:49).[208] But added to the pleasures of Circe's groves is an undertone of menace and foreboding, for the groans of angry lions (*gemitus iraeque leonum*, *Aen*.7.15), the roars of boars and bears (*saetigerique sues atque in praesaepibus ursi*, *Aen*.7.17), as well as the howls of large wolves (*magnorum ululare luporum*, *Aen*.7.18) also resound. These are no ordinary wild animals, they were once men, whom the enchantress Circe has transformed into beasts with potent herbs (*potentibus herbis*, *Aen*.7.19). These men-beasts take on Circe's characteristic since they rage (*saevire*, *Aen*.7.18) as she is savage (*saeva*, *Aen*.7.19) (Putnam 1970:413). Their human nature has given way to bestial nature as Circe has transformed their faces into those of wild animals (*induerat…voltus*, *Aen*.7.20) and has given them the hides of wild animals in place of their human skin (*terga ferarum*, *Aen*.7.20). *Terga ferarum* is usually translated as the 'hides of wild animals' (Stephens 1990:110), Page, however, notes that this misses an important aspect. He suggests that *terga ferarum* should rather be translated as 'backs of wild beasts' since this describes the 'low horizontal position of an animal's body as opposed to the upright position of a human being' (1970:151). I favour this

[207] For the lion skin which Aventinus wears in *Aen*.7.666, see section 2.6 above.
[208] Putnam also notes Circe's 'seduction by the senses' (1970:413).

translation as it not only describes their bodily transformation—covered in the fur of lions, etc.—but also stresses their bestial nature as they now walk on all fours instead of upright. Vergil modelled this episode on the famous Circe episode in the *Odyssey*, and by examining the two in parallel striking differences come to light.

In both scenes the animals that appear are largely the same (Stephens 1990:108): wolves and lions, in Vergil, bears are an addition. However, the beasts of the Homeric Circe behave very differently. When Odysseus's companions come across Circe's house, they sees wolves and lions behaving very unlike one would expect:

> And around the house were mountain wolves and lions, which Circe herself had subdued with enchantment, since she gave them evil drugs. Yet these animals did not even chase after my men, but immediately rose up and wagged their longs tails.
>
> (*Od*.10.212-215)

Here the wolves and lions are ordinary wild animals that Circe has made tame with her magical herbs, unlike in Vergil where they were once men.[209] The Homeric Circe's wolves and lions wag their tails while the beasts of Vergil's Circe are kept in chains (*vincla*, *Aen*.7.16) and appear to be unhappy about their captivity (*recusantum*, *Aen*.7.16). The Homeric Circe's swine are also strikingly different. In Vergil it is not specified who the men were that Circe has transformed into swine,[210] but in Homer the men are Odysseus' companions (*Od*.10.224-232) and unlike the Latin swine, these weep:

> But she had mixed into the food wicked drugs, so that they might completely forget about their fatherland. But when they had downed the mixture she gave them, she then at once struck them with her magic wand and shut them in pigsties. And they had the heads, voice, bristles, and bodily frame of pigs, yet their former mind remained still. So shut up in their sties they wept, and before them Circe then threw acorns of the holm oak, nuts, and cornel-tree fruit to eat, such as what pigs always eat while foraging on the ground.

[209] Some scholars maintain that the lions and wolves are simply tamed beasts (Heubeck and Hoekstra 1990:56; Griffin 2004:36), while others argue that they are changed humans (Stephens 1990:109). I favour that they are just wild beasts subdued by Circe's powers since the verb κατέθελξεν means 'subdued by spells or enchantments' and does not imply that any transformation has taken place (Liddell, Scott, and Jones 1996:354). Circe only effects a transformation with her magic wand (ῥάβδῳ, *Od*.10.238) which only appears in connection with the swine.

[210] Circe's palace is located among groves and her victims are most likely men that have been lured there by the promises of sensual delights (Stephens 1990:112).

(*Od*.10.235-243)

As her method of making the wolves and lions docile (φάρμακα, *Od*.10.236), Circe first makes the men forget their previous lives, and then with a touch from her magical wand she transforms them into pigs. The amnesia and transformation, however, does not destroy their human minds (νοῦς, *Od*.10.240), and hence they weep (ἐέρχατο, *Od*.10.241), because they retain some idea of their former humanity (Heubeck and Hoekstra 1990:57).[211] Unlike Vergil's Circe whose swine behave like bears for both share the verb *saevire* (*Aen*.7.17-18), Homeric Circe's pigs are calm enough to be fed on a variety of nuts and acorns. The differences between the Homeric episode and Vergil's version highlight 'what is unnatural and sinister in each episode' (Stephens 1990:109). The animals of the Homeric Circe are strange in two respects: firstly because the wolves and lions act like tame dogs which surprises Odysseus' companions who look on them as αἰνὰ πέλωρα ('fearsome monstrosities', *Od*.10.219), and secondly because the pigs weep as their human minds remain unchanged. On the other hand, Vergil's transformed animals do not behave unnaturally, as it is conceivable that confined animals would rage and be restive about their captivity (Stephens 1990:109). But what makes the Vergilian scene more sinister is that all the transformed animals were once men and do not appear to remember anything of their previous humanity. Like the boys who run away to *il Paese dei Balocch*i ('The Land of Toys') in the *Adventures of Pinocchio*, the men who enter Circe's grove are lured there by the promises of pleasure, and a similar fate befalls both; the boys become donkeys, and the men beasts. In Circe's case, however, the sensual surroundings of her grove also hint at the dangers of female sexuality (Keith 2004:49), which Aeneas has already encountered during his passionate affair with Dido in Book 4. With this in mind the Circe episode serves as a warning to Aeneas and the Trojans not to let their guard down especially as they are so near to their goal, Italy.[212] The warning seems to have been heeded, since Neptune rewards their *pietas* with divine benevolence:[213]

---

[211] When an antidote is provided (φάρμακον ἄλλο, *Od*.10.392) their sense of identity is restored and they recognise Odysseus once again (*Od*.10.396).

[212] The Trojans often disembark on a shore without first scouting for dangers: In Book 3 they go ashore on the Strophades only to discover that the Harpies live there (*Aen*.3.209-277), while they narrowly escape Polyphemus and the Cyclopes when they land in Sicily (*Aen*.3.567-691). Circe also serves as a personal warning to Aeneas, for Homer's Circe is indirectly linked with Dido, because as Circe distracts Odysseus from his quest home so Dido distracts Aeneas from his goal (Segal 1968:429-431; duBois 1976:21; Stephens 1990:110). The message to Aeneas is clear; keep well away from female distractions.

[213] Neptune's involvement with Troy is chequered: In Book 2 he does nothing to prevent the death of his priest Laocoon (Aen.2.201-227) and he participates in the destruction of Troy (*Aen*.2.610-612). But Neptune also shows his favour to Aeneas: In Book 1 he intervenes to stop Aeolus' storm (*Aen*.1.124-146) and in Book 5 Venus pleads with him to protect Aeneas' remaining ships, which he does (*Aen*.5.779-815).

> That the faithful Trojans not suffer such monstrous change should they sail into her harbour or land on her ominous shores, Neptune filled their sails with favourable winds, aiding their escape, and carried them past the raging shallows.
>
> (*Aen*.7.21-24)

The lions of the Circe episode symbolise the transformation of men to the level of beasts; from human to caged brutes, existing in a state of rage and grief. The image of lions roaring against their chains (*Aen*.7.15-16) was also likely inspired by the appearance of lions in the arena, where Roman citizens could expect to have seen the once proud animal pacing and frustrated in cages before the show.

3.8 Lions in *Aeneid* 8[214]

In Book 8 Aeneas and the Trojans interrupt a feast that King Evander is celebrating in honour of Hercules (*Aen*.8.102-125). When Evander learns who Aeneas is (*Aen*.8.126-174), he invites the Trojans to join the festivities and seats them on benches of grass, for Aeneas however, Evander sets aside a special place of honour:

> When these words had been spoken, Evander ordered that the interrupted feast and wine be renewed, and he himself seated the men on benches of grass; chief of all he welcomed Aeneas and invited him to sit on a maple-wood throne of which the cushion was covered by a shaggy lion's skin.
>
> (*Aen*.8.175-178)

Here Aeneas is enthroned upon a lion skin, an image which reminds us of the lion pelt Aeneas threw over his shoulders as a cushion for his father Anchises in *Aen*eid 2.721-723. By this act Evander is surely showing great respect to Aeneas as he with a similar act showed to his father earlier in the story.[215] The lion skin is also appropriate on another level since Hercules plays a significant role in Book 8 (Cairns 1990:84; Fratantuono and Smith 2018:299).[216] We have already seen that Aeneas and Hercules are closely linked in the *Aeneid*, but in *Aeneid* 8 that connection is made explicit. When Evander welcomes Aeneas into his house, he reminds him that this house once welcomed Hercules and urges him to emulate the Greek hero:

> When they had come to the house, [Evander] said: 'The grandson of Alceus, Hercules, entered this door in victory. This royal house [was large enough] to contain even him. Have the courage, my guest, to scorn riches and mould yourself that you may also be worthy of the god. Enter my home without sneering at its poverty.'
>
> (*Aen*.8.362-365)

Although Evander's home is small and hardly luxurious, Hercules did not refuse to enter it because of its humble nature. In the same way, Evander urges Aeneas to emulate the godly humility of Hercules.[217] Aeneas appears to have taken up Evander's challenge to mould himself

[214] For the reference to the Nemean lion in the hymn of the Salii, see section 2.7.
[215] The adjective *praecipuum* (177) illustrates the high esteem in which Evander holds Aeneas.
[216] Especially in the narration of his defeat of Cacus (*Aen*.8.185-267) and the Salian hymn (*Aen*.8.285-300).
[217] Scholars are divided on whether the identity of the *deus* is Hercules or some other god. Conington, and Nettleship (1871:116), Page (1970:224) and Cairns (1990:84) argue that the god in question is Hercules. Henry (1889:703) suggests Jupiter, translating the passage 'make yourself worthy of a god [Jupiter] from

after Hercules, since before setting out for the land of the Etruscans he offers sacrifice to Hercules: 'first [Aeneas] kindled the slumbering altars of Hercules with fresh fires' (*Aen*.8.542). It is immediately after this act that Aeneas receives a horse draped in a lion skin from Evander:

> Horses were given to the Trojans who were bent on making for the Etruscan lands; for Aeneas they led out an exceptional horse, which was completely covered with a tawny lion-skin, shining with its golden claws.
>
> (*Aen*.8.551-553)

The horse is specially chosen (*exsortem*, *Aen*.8.552) and befits Aeneas' role as leader of the Trojans (Fratantuono and Smith 2018:597). The claws of the lion skin are gilded, emphasising the costliness of the gift, while at the same time reminding us of the *unguibus aureis* ('gilded claws') of the lion skin Aeneas gave to Salius in *Aeneid* 5.348-352. This is the last time in the *Aeneid* that a lion skin is associated with Aeneas which may suggest that the hero has now completely assumed Hercules' mantle; hence enabling Aeneas to continue his quest. And like Hercules overcame the Nemean lion so Aeneas will overcome Turnus, who is compared to a lion on three occasion in the epic.[218]

whom you and Hercules are both derived.' On the other hand, Fratantuono and Smith suggest that *deus* may refer to Saturn, who did not disdain coming to Latium and lived among its rough people (2018:468).

[218] The lion-Turnus similes (*Aen*.9.789-798; 10.453-456; 12.4-9) are discussed below.

3.9 Lions in *Aeneid* 9

At the end of Book 8 Aeneas is still occupied with his visit to Evander, at this Juno sends Iris to inform Turnus that, with Aeneas gone, now would be a perfect moment to attack the Trojan camp (*Aen*.9.1-24). Turnus moves his army towards the Trojan's camp, but they do not set out to fight him in the field as Aeneas had warned them against it (*Aen*.9.25-175). Nisus tells his friend Euryalus that they must reach Aeneas at Pallanteum to inform him of Turnus' attack (*Aen*.9.176-223). As they are about to leave the Trojan camp, Ascanius presents Euryalus with a Cretan sword fitted in an ivory scabbard (*Aen*.9.303-305), while Nisus is given a lion skin:

> Mnestheus gave Nisus a skin stripped from a shaggy lion; and faithful Aletes exchanged his helmet with Nisus.
>
> (*Aen*.9.306-307)

As mentioned above, Nisus first appears in the footrace scene of Book 5 (*Aen*.5.294) and his youthful bravado rouses a smile from Aeneas who presents him with a shield (*Aen*.5.358-361). In a similar way Mnestheus echoes the Trojan leader's admiration for the youth by giving him a lion pelt.[219] The skin is described as *exuvias* ('that which is stripped') a word that usually refers to spoils taken from a dead enemy, but it can also refer to a trophy from a hunt (Horsfall 1995:176). This gift perfectly suits Nisus as he is the son of the 'huntress Ida' (*Ida venatrix*, *Aen*.9.177-178), a nymph who dwells on Mt. Ida (Page 1970:263), and as he himself says he 'hunts constantly' (*venatu adsiduo*, *Aen.*9.245). The real significance of the lion pelt becomes clear in the following lines where Nisus deals destruction like a lion among sheep:

> [Nisus] was like a hungry lion prowling through full sheepfolds—for mad hunger propels him—as he gnaws and drags the defenceless flock, dumbstruck with fear, and roars with grisly mouth.
>
> (*Aen*.9.339-341)

[219] Mnestheus is a significant character in the *Aeneid* and one of Aeneas' most prominent captains, but before Vergil he appears to be a rather insignificant character in the epic repertoire (Weinstock 1971:23). Vergil provides him a royal pedigree, saying: 'Mnestheus, offspring of Assaracus' (*Aen*.12.127).
Assaracus along with Illus and Dardanus were the traditional ancestors of the Trojans (*Aen*.6.650). Ennius, however, informs us that Anchises was the grandson of Assaracus, saying: 'from Assaracus was born Capys the best of men, and he himself fathered Anchises the dutiful' (*Ann*.1.16-17). Ennius' comment sheds light on the reason why Mnestheus plays a marked role in the *Aeneid* as he and Aeneas have a common great-grandfather.

The lion skin which Nisus is wearing heightens the imagery of the simile[220], for not only does he fight like a lion but he actually looks like one. Vergil has masterfully captured the terror of the scene. The mere presence of the lion renders the already hapless sheep 'mute with fear' (*mutumque metu*, *Aen.*9.340), in their stupor, the lion is free to drag and chew any sheep it chooses (*manditque trahitque*, *Aen.*9.340). The lion roars (*fremit*, *Aen.*9.341) and displays its fresh kill by its blood stained mouth (*ore cruento*, *Aen.*9.341). Nisus' enemies the Rutulians, like the sheep, are equally defenceless against his onslaught for: 'their bodies are spread out all over the grass in drunken sleep' (*Aen*.9.316-317).This simile is modelled on a passage from the *Iliad* which compares Diomedes to a lion:

> And just like a lion that comes upon flocks without a shepherd, and leaps upon goats or sheep with evil design, so did Diomedes, the son Tydeus, set on the Thracian warriors until he had killed twelve of them.
>
> (*Il.*10.485-488).

The situation is very similar. We have Diomedes compared to a lion pouncing on sheep or goats which are 'shepherd-less' (ἀσημάντοισιν, *Il.*10.485) and hence defenceless. In Homer's case the flock represents Thracian soldiers (Θρήϊκας ἄνδρας, *Il.*10.487), of which Diomedes kills twelve (δυώδεκ᾽, 488). What is interesting is that Homer's version is more sanitised. The lion only leaps upon the flock, it does not devour and its mouth is not bloodied, unlike Vergil's rendering. In Homer's simile the lion attacks with 'evil intent' (κακὰ φρονέων, *Il.*10.486), but of course, this is from the flock's point of view not the lion's. In contrast Vergil's lion attacks out of hunger (*suadet enim vesana fames*, *Aen.*9.340), a more realistic motive than Homer's. The differences are telling. Vergil places the lion at the centre of the simile, and offers the readers a glimpse into the lion's thought process, while at the same time, describes the behaviour of the animal. Vergil's more lifelike lion suggests that the poet may have had contact with the real creature. It is likely that he might have actually witnessed a lion in the arena as the animal was frequently exhibited in Roman animal spectacles as mentioned above.

[220] The simile is incomplete but the majority of scholars agree that Nisus is the tenor (Conington and Nettleship 1871:184; Page 1970:272; Lennox 1977:336; Stephens 1990:124; Quint 2018:17), Horsfall, on the contrary, suggests Euryalus (1995:174). I concur that Nisus is the tenor since in the passage immediately following the lion simile, Euryalus' actions are described: 'Euryalus' carnage was no less bloody' (*Aen*.9.342.). In addition, Nisus is wearing a lion skin (*Aen*.9.306-307) and is a hunter (*Aen*.9.177-178; 316-317).

The Homeric lion which symbolises the heroic ideal such as which Diomedes exemplifies, takes on more ominous tones in the Nisus episode. The lion skin foreshadows the slaughter Nisus brings down on the sleeping Rutulians, while the lion smile captures the violence of Nisus' slaughter. However, unlike Diomedes who survives the Trojan War and ends his days on the island Diomedeia (Gantz 1993:700), or according to one legend told by Strabo becomes a god in the lands of the Heneti (*Geo*.6.3.9), Nisus becomes a victim.[221] He and Euryalus are driven into the woods (*fugam in silvas*, *Aen*.9.378), where Volcens kills Euryalus (*Aen*.9.425).[222] In revenge Nisus kills Volcens but becomes surrounded by the other Rutulians who then kill him like a wild beast:

> Then, mortally wounded, [Nisus] threw himself down on his lifeless friend, Euryalus, and there finally found rest in peaceful death.
>
> (*Aen*.9.444-445)

The lion simile which described Nisus at the moment of his greatest strength, falls away with his death; Nisus' excessive slaughter is punished. When Nisus is compared to a lion, it is not just a ferocious beast whose actions he is imitating that Vergil wants us to envision; rather Vergil wants to show what happens when a man behaves like a lion and ceases to be human (Hartigan 1973:232).[223] In spite of this, Nisus redeems himself since he died to avenge Euryalus, an act which Vergil praises with an apostrophe:[224]

> Happy pair! If there is any power in my poetry, no day shall ever erase you from the memory of time, as long as the house of Aeneas stands on the Capitol's immovable rock, and a Roman father holds power.

---

[221] Diomedes makes an appearance in *Aeneid* 11 when the Italians approach him for assistance in their war against Aeneas, but he refuses (*Aen*.11.243-295).

[222] The relationship between Nisus and Euryalus has been a subject of much debate among classicists. Vergil refers to their love as *amor pius* (*Aen*.5.296) which some have interpreted as 'chaste love' (Duckworth 1967:129-130; Lennox 1977:334-335; Otis 1995:42). While other scholars read it simply as 'faithful love' implying a homosexual relationship (Makowski 1989:1; Horsfall 1995:170; Beye 2006:251; Harrison 2006:175; Hardie 2014:175).
There is good evidence that this is the case, for although homosexual love is absent from Homer, later Hellenistic authors such as Apollonius allude to it: when Hercules hears that Hylas has died, he 'sweats' and his 'blood boils' (*Argo*.1.1261-1262). In the poems of Catullus (*Carm*.24; 48; 81; 99) there are unambiguous references to homosexual attraction, and Lucretius also notes the attraction of boys (*De.Re.Nat*.1052-1057). Perhaps the most compelling evidence comes from Suetonius' *Vita Vergilii* where he states that the poet was: 'particularly inclined to passions for boys' (*Vit.Ver.*9).

[223] Other scholars have also interpreted this as evidence of Vergil's moral judgment against Nisus (Putnam 1965:50ff.; Hornsby 1970:65-66; Horsfall 1995:174-178).

[224] I agree that Vergil rejects Nisus' bloodlust, but favour a more nuanced reading of the poet's moral judgment as do Duckworth (1967:129-15), Lennox (1977:331-342) and Makowski (1989:1-15).

(*Aen*.9.446-450)

Having adopted the Homeric lion smile, Vergil adapted it to express emotions of loss and even sympathy. This complicates our understanding of lion similes in the *Aeneid*, which in the following passage becomes all too clear:

> Turnus gradually withdrew from the fight, and made for the river and the part fortified by its waves. The Trojans, emboldened by his departure, pressed on with a great shout and assembled en masse. As when a blast of hunters closes in on a savage lion with hostile spears, but he, frightened and furious, glaring angrily, steps backwards; his anger and courage do not allow him to turn in flight, and in spite of his eagerness, he cannot advance through the spears and hunters which surround him. Just so, Turnus wavered and slowly withdrew his steps backwards, though his heart burned with rage.
>
> (*Aen*.9.789-798)

The situation described above seems at odds with the lion simile. For as we have already seen the lion in Homer symbolises the aggressive and all-powerful hero, and even in the Nisus episode the lion expresses the youth's bloody slaughter; however, here, the lion simile undermines Turnus, and suggests that he is unheroic. It is telling that while Turnus is gradually retreating (*paulatim excedere pugna*, *Aen*.9.789), his heart burns with rage (*mens exaestuat ira*, *Aen*.9.798); thus his actions and emotions are contradictory. Echoing this contradiction, the lion is both terrified (*territus*, *Aen*.9.793) and savage (*asper*, *Aen*.9.794); it withdraws but does not turn tail. The context makes it clear that Turnus is frustrated but also in severe danger. The Trojans press closely on his heels (*incumbere*, *Aen*.9.791), while the lion is under similar strain from the hunters (*premit*, *Aen*.9.793). When one compares this simile with its Homeric counterpart, the conflicting emotion and behaviour exhibited by Turnus become clearer. In a passage from Book 11 of the *Iliad*, Ajax is described as a lion retreating from a pack of dogs and men:

> And just as a tawny lion is driven from the corral by dogs and countrymen, who, keeping watch all through the night, prevent him from snatching the fattest of the oxen; greedy after meat, the lion presses on, but he accomplishes nothing, for a volley of javelins speeds towards him, cast by courageous hands, and burning faggots as well, from which he flees in spite of his eagerness, and at dawn he skulks away with a crestfallen heart; so Ajax then withdrew before the Trojans, disheartened and much against his will, for he was alarmed by the threat to the Greek ships.
>
> (*Il*.11.548-557)

The situation in this episode is similar; the lion is outnumbered and its pursuers chase it with weapons and torches. The lion's actions and emotions, however, are quite different from Vergil's. Here the animal flees in spite of being eager. It realises the hopelessness of the situation and departs. The lion is disheartened, but there is no conflict between its action and feelings. The lion simile captures Ajax's tenacity and his unwillingness to retreat, but the dangers posed to the Greek fleet are too great for him to ignore, so like the lion he retreats unwillingly. The lion in the *Aeneid*'s simile on the other hand cannot escape because its 'anger and courage' (*ira*…*virtus*, *Aen*.9.795) compel it to stay, yet even this is not enough for the lion to brave the 'spears and men' (*tela virosque*, *Aen*.9.796). Vergil's lion is unsure and overcome by conflicting impulses to retreat or to fight.[225] What Vergil appears to be suggesting is that Turnus, like the lion, is being pulled by conflicting emotions, but cannot decided on one cause of action, and is therefore indecisive. Even when he does withdraw, Turnus doubts his action (*dubius*, 797) while Ajax when he has decided to retreat does so confidently. In Book 10, Turnus is again a lion, however, there he is hardly indecisive when he confronts Pallas (*Aen*.10.453-456). Their fatal meeting, which results in Pallas' death, leads directly to Turnus own death in Book 12; maybe Turnus' indecision could have saved him again?

[225] Compare this to Aristotle's description on p.101.

3.10 Lions in *Aeneid* 10

Book 10 begins with a council of the gods that Jupiter has summoned (*Aen*.10.1-15). After a lengthy debate in which Venus pleads on the Trojans' behalf and Juno on the Rutulians', Jupiter decides that since the gods cannot reach a consensus, he will support neither side (*Aen*.10.16-117). Meanwhile the Rutulians renew their assault on the Trojan camp (*Aen*.10.118-145); luckily, Aeneas is on his way back and sails down the Tiber in an extraordinary ship, ornamented with lions:

> Aeneas' ship was foremost in the line; Phrygian lions affixed her ram, and above them Ida stood out, an image very dear to the exiled Trojans. Here at the ship's bow sat great Aeneas himself, thinking over the various consequences of the war. And Pallas clung close to his left side, asking him now about the stars that guide their course through the dark night, and now about his toils on land and sea.
>
> (*Aen*.10.156-162)

The ship's ornamentation is more than just decoration, as the choice of lions and Ida recall the goddess Cybele.[226] In *Aeneid* 3, Anchises recalls that Mount Ida was her special place of worship and that lions were particularly dear to her (*Aen*.3.111-113). Here the poet tells us that Ida was most dear to the Trojans (*profugis gratissima Teucris*, *Aen*.10.157), reminding them of their Trojan homeland while also serving as a physical emblem of their gratitude, since the goddess provided pines from her sacred grove on Mount Ida to build the Trojan fleet (*Aen*.9.80-92).

There is some debate over where Ida is located on the ship. The majority of interpreters suggest that Ida is the ship's figurehead—i.e. located on the prow— (Conington and Nettleship 1871:241; Page 1970:311; Hardie 1987:168; Harrison 1991:104), while Lersch (1853:126) and Norcio (1963:60) argue that the figure of Ida stood on the ship's deck.[227] As for what Ida is it may either be a carved human figure representing the mountain or a painting of the mountain itself attached to the prow (Casson 1971:345). The location and nature of the lion ornamentation has roused less debate. In the Greek world, vase-paintings show that galleys were already fitted with rams

[226] The historian Memnon of Heraclea (fl. ca. 1st century BCE) narrates that his city built a ship called the Λεοντοφόρος 'The Lion-bearer' for Lysimachus (ca. 360 – 281 BCE). Memnon offers no explanation for the ship's name but does remark: 'on account of the ship's size and beauty, her presence was a marvel' (*Memnon* 13 = Jacoby, *FGrH* 434, 8.5, Vol. III B).
William Tarn argues convincingly that the ship's name derived from its leonine decoration which was chosen since the lion was Lysimachus' personal badge (1913:131).

[227] Vergil says that Ida is *super* 'above the lions' which precludes the idea that Ida is located on the ship's deck.

by about 800 BCE, a fact which Homer does not mention (Casson 1971:49). The earliest rams were simply 'massive prongs', but by 500 BCE, rams began to be embellished with ornamentation and even fashioned into designs resembling animals (Casson 1971:63-64).[228] Later during the Hellenistic age, ship ornamentation became increasingly more elaborate, and bronze figures were often attached above the ram on either side of the ship's prow (Casson 1971:345).[229] The figurehead and prow ornamentation, called the *insigne* served as the vessel's 'name-device', and the subject of the *insigne* was often based on mythological, military or even geographical themes (Casson 1971:354-358).[230] The choice to place lions and Ida on Aeneas' ship may betray a deeper symbolic meaning. For one, throughout the *Aeneid*, Cybele appears as the protectress of the Trojans and facilitates their journey to Latium; thus the ornamentation may serve as the vessel's *tutela* ('guardian'), warding off evil (Casson 1971:347).[231] On the other hand it is worth noting that *magnus* Aeneas is sitting over the lions (*hic magnus sedet Aeneas*, 159), just as Anchises sat on a lion skin in *Aeneid* 2.721-723 and just as Aeneas himself sat on a lion skin in *Aeneid* 8.175-178 (Wilhelm 1988:88). This image suggests that Aeneas has control over lions, like Cybele and Hercules, and differentiates him from characters like Nisus, Mezentius and Turnus who are compared to lions.

Cybele's role as protectress and guardian deity of the Trojans is emphatically expressed by Aeneas in a prayer he offers to the goddess while aboard his ship:

> Then as he gazed to heaven above, he offered a short prayer: 'O Mother of the gods, O kindly Queen of Mount Ida, who loves Dindyma[232] and cities with towers, and who loves paired lions yoked

[228] Herodotus records that the islanders of Samos made ships with beaks resembling a boar's snout: '[people from Aegina and Crete] cut off the prows of [Samian] ships, whose beaks were turned up like a boar's snout' (*Hist*.3.59.3).
[229] This seems to be the case with Vergil's description.
[230] For example, *Neptunus* was the name of a trireme in fleet at Misenum and the ship was decorated accordingly to reflect the god of the sea (Casson 1971:357); this has lead Harrison (1991:104) to speculate that Aeneas' ship was named Ida.
[231] Recall that Cybele keeps Aeneas' wife Creusa in safety on the shores of Troy (*Aen*.2.788); she intervenes with Jupiter to save the Trojans ships from Rutulian fire (*Aen*.9.77-92), and then transforms the vessels into nymphs (*Aen*.9.93-122).
[232] Dindymus or Dindyma plural, is the name of a mountain located in Mysia, a region in the northwest of Asia Minor. Strabo says: 'Dindymus is a mountain with a single summit, and has a temple of Dindymene, the mother of the gods, which was established by the Argonauts' (*Geog*.12.8.11). From the Greek text of Jones (1917-1949).
Strabo's claim that the Argonauts built a temple to the goddess on the mountain seems to be based on popular belief, as Apollonius of Rhodes also connects them with the mountain: During a storm, a halcyon swoops over Jason's head and lands on the *Argo*'s stern-post; Mopsus interprets this omen and instructs Jason to climb Mt Dindymus: 'Jason, son of Aeson, you must climb to this holy place on jagged Dindymus and appease the mother of all the blessed gods, seated on her beautiful throne, and the furious winds will cease' (*Argo*.1.1092-1095).

> to your bridles, be now my guide in the battle, fulfil your divine prophecy, and, O Goddess, come to the aid of the Phrygians with your favouring footstep.'
>
> (*Aen*.10.251-255)

In this prayer Aeneas address the goddess as the lover of 'cities with towers' (*turrigeraeque urbis*, *Aen*.10.252), which, like *cultrix* ('cultivatress', *Aen*.3.111) stresses the goddess' role as protectress of cities and civilisation (Roller 1999:276), while her association with lions underscores her power to tame (Roller 1999:310).[233] What is interesting is that Aeneas invokes her as *pugnae princeps* (*Aen*.10.254), suggesting that she is also a goddess who brings victory (Wilhelm 1988:91; Bell 2007:116). The designation *princeps* also alludes to Augustus, who, as a descendant of Aeneas, publically promoted the goddess' cult (Roller 1999:309). Wilhelm suggests that Augustus' interest in Cybele's cult may in fact have been motivated by the important role which Vergil had given the goddess in the *Aeneid* (1988:91). This idea seems quite reasonable since, in Book 6, Anchises reinforces the continuity between Rome and Phrygia by comparing the city with its seven hills and future world empire to Cybele riding her chariot through Phrygian cities:

> 'See, my son! Under [Romulus'] auspices illustrious Rome will bound her empire by the earth, and her soul by Olympus, and she will encircle her seven citadels with one wall, and blest will she be in her masculine offspring; like the Mother of Berecynthus[234], who rides through Phrygian cities in her chariot wearing her crenelated crown, happy in her divine progeny, and embracing her hundred grandsons, all of them dwellers in heaven, all masters of the heavens above.'
>
> (*Aen*.6.781-787)

Anchises' words reveal Rome's glorious future, and Cybele (*Berecynthia mater*, *Aen*.6.784) is also present, rejoicing in these happy events. The mural crown (*turrita*, *Aen*.6.785) she wears prefigures the walls (*una…muro*, *Aen*.6.783) that shall one day surround the city. She is proud of her divine offspring (*laeta deum partu*, *Aen*.6.786), and likewise Rome shall be blest in her breed of men (*felix prole virum*, *Aen*.6.784). Just as Cybele's children and grandchildren rule the heavens (*omnes caelicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes*, *Aen*.6.784), so shall Aeneas' descendant, Romulus inaugurate (*huius…auspiciis*, *Aen*.6.784) Rome's founding and herald the

[233] Hellenistic figurines and statues of Cybele from Pergamum frequently show the goddess wearing a mural crown (Roller 1999:278). When the goddess was brought to Rome in 204 BCE it appears that the Romans copied the Pergamene style since the mural crown was a common feature of the goddess' iconography in the Roman world (Roller 1999:145).
[234] One of Cybele's many titles, derived from Mount Berecynthus in Phrygia where the goddess was worshipped (Graillot 1912:109).

city's eventual rise to world power.[235] The reason for Augustus' interest in the goddess' cult is plain to see. He wished to show a continuation between himself and his ancestor Aeneas, and what better method than honouring Cybele, the mother of Ida, tamer of lions and protectress of the Trojans.

Leaving Cybele's lion aside, we return to a lion that is energetic and bellicose:

> Turnus leapt from his chariot and prepared to go on foot for hand-to-hand combat. Like a lion that flies when from a high look-out he spots standing on a plain in the distance a bull, practicing for battle; such was the scene of Turnus' approach.
>
> (*Aen*.10.453-456)

This simile, which occurs directly after Turnus spots Pallas on the field of battle (*Aen*.10.441-452), succinctly captures the swiftness and force of Turnus' attack. More emphasis is focused on the lion's movement, with little said about the bull, which in this context refers to Pallas (Hartigan 1973:235; Quint 2018:161). Yet one detail describing the bull is unusual; it is 'practicing for battle' (*meditantem in proelia*, *Aen*.10.454). The bull is not defenceless and rehearses for its coming battle against the lion, which is in keeping with the context of the simile, for Turnus does not attack Pallas by surprise. This simile is contextually related to a lion-boar simile in the *Iliad* describing the combat between Hector and Patroclus (Conington and Nettleship 1871:267; Page 1970:329):

> As a lion overpowers an untiring boar in battle, when both of them fight aggressively on the peaks of a mountain over a small spring of water, from which both want to drink. The boar pants greatly but the lion overcomes him with his might. Just so, with his spear close at hand, did Priam's son, Hector, rob the life of Menoetius' brave son, Patroclus, who had killed so many.
>
> (*Il*.16.823-828)

A lion and boar come across each other at a mountain spring. Although the boar puts up a good fight, it cannot best the lion. The lion has no epithet, unlike the 'tireless' boar (ἀκάμαντα, *Il*.16.823) which evokes Patroclus' martial skill and bravery (πολέας πεφνόντα…ἄλκιμον, *Il*.16.827). Yet even this is not enough, for the lion's brute strength is too overpowering. The boar is at an immediate disadvantage, since the lion is naturally stronger (Janko and Kirk 1994:416). Patroclus, like the boar, is no match for Hector and dies at his hands (*Il*.16.855-856).

[235] The auspices mentioned here refer to the augury of the twelve vultures Romulus saw as opposed to the six which Remus saw; Romulus' omen was more favourable and thus the city bore his name (Ganiban et al 2012:455).

Returning to the Aeneid, the fact that the bull is rehearsing for battle suggests that Pallas may yet survive, unlike the boar in Homer's simile. But when one compares this simile to a passage from the *Georgics*, Pallas' death seems inevitable:

> So with every diligence [the bull] trains his strength, and for the entire night he lies among hard stones on a bed covered with prickly branches, and feeds on sharp rush, and tests himself, and ramming at the trunk of a tree he learns to marshal his horns with rage, and challenges the wind with blows, and pawing clouds of sand, he practices for the fight.
>
> (*Georg*.3.229-234)

These lines describe a young bull which had previously been beaten, yet it begins a training regime so that it can seek a rematch against its opponent. Here the opponent is another bull competing over heifers (*Georg*.3.220), and hence an equal. Reading the bull-Pallas simile in the light of this passage, underscores the hopelessness of Pallas' engagement with Turnus. Their combat is heavily weighted in Turnus' favour, and although Pallas wounds Turnus: *magno strinxit de corpore Turni* ('[His spear] grazed Turnus' great body', *Aen*.10.485), he is ultimately overpowered: *terram hostilem moriens petit ore cruento* ('He fell to the hostile ground, dying with a blood-soaked mouth', *Aen*.10.489). These words recall the savagery of the lion-Nisus simile (*fremit ore cruento*, *Aen*.9.341) while at the same time foreshadow the wounded lion simile to which Turnus is compared in Book 12 (*fremit ore cruento*, *Aen*.12.8).

The final lion simile of Book 10 is used to characterise the frightful Mezentius, king of the Etruscans. We first meet him in *Aeneid* 7 where he heads a list of Italians gathering against Aeneas:

> The first to begin the war and equip armed men was Mezentius, who came angered from the Etruscan borders and who despised the gods.
>
> (*Aen*.7.647-648)

These two lines are quite telling in that they suggest something sinister about Mezentius. Although Mezentius is king of the Etruscans he leaves their lands full of anger (647). We later learn that his cruelty caused the citizens of Agylla to drive him out (*Aen*.8.478-493).[236] In other words, Mezentius joins the battle as a king embittered by his exile (Page 1970:192). This picture of an embittered and angry king is intensified by the words 'despiser of the gods' (*contemptor divom*,

[236] Mezentius' crimes were grisly: he used to tie the bodies of the dead to the living, binding hand to hand, and mouth to mouth, *Aen*.8.485-486. The people of Agylla rose up against Mezentius' 'unspeakable crimes' (*infanda, Aen*.8.489), and seeking safety he fled to Turnus (*Aen*.8.493).

Aen.7.648).[237] These words are not intended to mark Mezentius as an 'unbeliever in the existence of the gods' (Henry 1889:630), but rather suggest that he is indifferent to or thinks himself superior to them (Sullivan 1969:221). Macrobius recounts a statement from Cato that supports this interpretation:

> But the true reason for this name, which smacks of pride, will be discovered by a careful reader in the First Book of Cato's *Origins*. For he says that Mezentius had commanded the Rutulians to offer the first-fruits to him which they usually offered to the gods…therefore, because he had claimed divine honours for himself, Mezentius has deservedly been called despiser of the gods by Vergil.
>
> (*Sat*.3.5.10-11)

Cato' statement suggests that Mezentius' impiety stems from his disregard for the gods and his sense of superiority in claiming what is theirs as his own.[238] As the *Aeneid*'s story unfolds, Mezentius' actions emphasise his impiety, such as when he shows scorn for Jupiter (*Aen*.10.742) and when he invokes his sword as his god (*Aen*.10.773-774). Vergil seems to have intentionally characterised Mezentius as a *homo impius* as opposed to the *homo pius* Aeneas who is intently aware of his duty to the gods (Sullivan 1969:222; Basson 1984:62).[239] Mezentius' impiety, first revealed in *Aeneid* 7, sets him on a course that leads inevitably to Aeneas. Like Aeneas' greatest foe, Turnus, Mezentius also poses a serious threat, for he is a formidable fighter and hungers after battle like a famished lion:

> There had come a Greek man named Acron from the ancient boundaries of Corythus; he had fled and left his marriage ceremony unfulfilled. When Mezentius saw Acron in the distance, he was embroiled in the centre of the ranks, with purple feathers upon his helmet and a purple robe which his lady had given him; just as a famished lion at times roaming through tall bushes—for an insatiable hunger compels him—rejoices, if perchance he a sees a swift she-goat or a stag with towering antlers, and, gaping ferociously, he bristles his mane as he lies over his prey, clinging to

[237] Mezentius is called this again in the opening lines of Book 8 (*contemptorque deum Mezentius*, *Aen*.8.7).
[238] Pliny the Elder recounts Varro who tells a different version: 'Marcus Varro tells that Mezentius, king of Etruria, had given help to the Rutulians against the Latins on condition that he receive the wine then in the Latin territory' (*Nat.Hist.*14.14.88). Although there is no suggestion of impiety here, his demand nonetheless reveals excessive arrogance, echoing Macrobius' *contumacissimi* ('excessively proud') comment.
[239] Aeneas does not escape accusations of impiety. His adoption of serpentine deception in the killing of Androgeos (*Aen*.2.378-382), and his reluctance to flee Troy, which is his duty, seem at odds with the duty-driven Aeneas he claims to be. Even Dido accuses him of impiety when he abandons her (*Aen*.4.496). Perhaps the most damning instance is his killing of Turnus, for Anchises urges Aeneas to show mercy to the defeated (*parcere subiectis*, *Aen*.6.853). In spite of Aeneas not always living up to the name *pius* Aeneas, he never shows disrespect to the gods, and exhibits religious piety, unlike Mezentius.

> its entrails; the loathsome blood bathes his cruel jaws. Just so was Mezentius as he eagerly rushed into the thick of his foes.
>
> (*Aen*.10.719-729)

In this passage we see Mezentius charge like a hungry lion that spots a she-goat or stag (*capream…cervum*, *Aen*.10.725). The victim Arcon is a Greek from the Italian town of Corythus, which Vergil makes the birthplace of Dardanus, the ancestor of the Trojans (*Aen*.3.170; 8.209; 9.10). The location of Corythus has traditionally been identified with modern Cortona located in Tuscany, the home of the ancient Etruscans (Horsfall 1973:68). By mentioning Corythus in the above passage, Vergil reminds us not only of Aeneas' Etruscan ancestry but also suggests a familial bond between the Trojan leader and Acron. More telling, however, is that Acron is Greek, perhaps implying that old enemies have now become allies in Italy.[240]

Acron is easily spotted by Mezentius as the purple feathers of his helmet and his purple robe betray him (*purpureum pennis…ostro*, *Aen*.10.722). These gifts, given to Acron by his betrothed (*pactae*, *Aen*.10.722) as a mark of love, now become a target, ending any hope that Acron may complete the wedding ceremony (*infectos…hymenaeos*, *Aen*.10.720). Vergil's description of Acron invokes our sympathy, while the description of the stag only makes it stronger. The lion, driven by hunger, stalks through tall bushes, and spots a she-goat or stag.[241] We can sympathise that the lion is compelled by hunger (*vesana fames*, *Aen*.10.724) but the ferocity of its attack is shocking. The goat's speed (*fugacem*, *Aen*.10.724) and stag's antlers (*surgentem in cornua, Aen*.10.725) are of no consequence to the lion, it gapes its mouth in response (*hians immane*, *Aen*.10.725).[242] The predator then bristles its mane—indicating its pleasure—and proceeds to dig into the entrails of its victim (*haeret visceribus*, *Aen*.10.726-727). As the lion eats, its jaws are bloodied by loathsome blood (*taeter…cruor*, *Aen*.10.727-728), alluding to the violence of its killing. This graphic description makes us side with the she-goat and stag, while at the same time makes our sympathy for Acron all the more intense. The lion's bloodied mouth and joy paints Mezentius as a cruel brute, echoing what we have learnt about his character earlier in the epic. When Mezentius actually kills Acron, his death is bloody and brutal, reminding us of the lion's victims:

---

[240] Roman-ness is very likely at play here since Vergil makes Aeneas' coming to Italy appear as a νόστος ('home-coming') rather than an invasion (Horsfall 1973:79).
[241] Compare this to a lion simile describing Menelaus: 'as a lion rejoices when by chance he discovers the great carcass of an antlered stag or a wild goat, and, being famished, he greedily devours it, even though swift dogs and sturdy young men chase him off' (*Il*.3.23-26).
[242] The verb *hio* also denotes yawning (Lewis and Short 1980:856), which in the context is fitting: the lion yawns at the prey's defences.

Unfortunate[243] Acron was brought low, and, with his last breath, he struck the dark earth with his heels, bleeding over his broken weapons.

(*Aen*.10.730-731)

[243] This may allude to the unfinished wedding ceremony which Acron now has no hope of returning to thanks to Mezentius.

3.11 Lions in *Aeneid* 12

In the opening lines of Book 12, Turnus is likened to a lion raging on the plains of Carthage:

> As a lion in the fields of the Carthaginians, when he is severely wounded in the breast by hunters, and only then advances to battle; gladly tossing the masses of his mane from his neck, and fearlessly breaks off the spear which a poacher has planted in him and roars with a blood-soaked mouth: so did the violence swell in Turnus' rage-filled heart.
>
> (*Aen*.12.4-9)

By its position in the book, this simile sets the tone for Turnus' behaviour in the final book of the epic (Galinsky 1968:174). At the same time, the line *Poenorum…in arvis* (*Aen*.12.4) makes Turnus appear foreign and out-of-place (Cairns 1990:111). On the one hand it is reminiscent of Dido as a wounded deer (*Aen*.4.69-73), while on the other, it identifies Turnus with Rome's arch enemy, perhaps suggesting that his cause is un-Roman.[244]

In addition to introducing an element of foreignness, the simile also introduces a sense of reluctance. The words *tum demum* (*Aen*.12.6) imply that the lion reluctantly responds to the attack, and would much rather not fight, unlike the lion in *Iliad* 20:

> From the other side Achilles, the son of Peleus, rushed against [Aeneas], like a ravening lion that a group of men all gathered together is eager to kill: disregarding them at first he goes away, but when one of the brave youths who is swift in battle strikes him with a spear, then with open jaws the lion crouches, and foam froths around his teeth, and in his heart his brave spirit groans. He lashes his ribs and haunches on both sides with his tail, and stirs himself up to fight, and glaring fiercely he dashes straight on with all his might, whether he slays some man or if he is killed in the throng of battle.
>
> (*Il*.20.164-173)

This lion, representing Achilles, does not show any hesitation. It actually whips itself into a frenzy and cannot enter battle quickly enough. The hope of killing Aeneas is too strong an attraction for Achilles to let slip. The lion is equally reckless, showing no concern for its own safety. Vergil's lion in contrast is a creature that is mindful of the possible danger hence it only fights at length. But when it does eventually advance, it shows no fear, and proudly roars with a bloodied mouth, *ore cruento* (*Aen*.12.8), this image strongly suggests death on the horizon. We have come across the

[244] Vergil's contemporary Roman audience was well aware of the long animosity between their city and Carthage, and Turnus' identification with Carthage would have alienated him in their eyes (Galinsky 1968:175; Goldschmidt 2013:145-146).

same blood-soaked image, first in the lion-Nisus simile (*Aen*.9.341), second in Pallas' death (*Aen*.10.489), and third in the lion-Mezentius simile (*Aen*.728). Like Nisus and Mezentius, Turnus will soon die, and in an ironic twist, Pallas, his bleeding victim, will be instrumental in leonine Turnus' death.

3.12 Conclusion

The Homeric lion represents aggression and anger, and therefore it is no surprise that this creature is closely aligned with heroes such as Achilles, Diomedes and Agamemnon. When the Homeric lion attacks it does so instinctively, showing little regard for its own safety, and retreats only if compelled. On account of the connection between the aggressive lion and epic hero we might have expected that Vergil would have made greater use of the creature. In fact the lion only appears 17 times in the *Aeneid* in contrast to the *Iliad*'s 48, of which 28 occur in lion similes describing heroic aggression (Alden 2005:335). If we look at the lion similes in the *Aeneid*, of the five only three correspond with the violence of a hero: Nisus (*Aen*.9.339-341), Turnus (*Aen*.10.453-456) and Mezentius (*Aen*.10.719-72). Although the aggressive lion similes share many of the same qualities of their Homeric counterparts, they are also different. Vergil describes the lion's roar and its bloodied mouth, both absent in Homer.[245] In addition, greater emphasis is placed on the lion's perspective; it attacks out of hunger, not out of malicious intent as in the Diomedes-lion simile (*Il*.10.485-88, see section 3.9). However, the most striking departure Vergil makes is seen in the *Aeneid*'s final two Turnus-lion similes (*Aen*.9.789-798; 12.4-9). Here we see a lion showing hesitation, as if it is unsure about its strength. When the creature does respond it does so slowly, suggesting that it is not ruled by anger but rather torn between conflicting impulses. What is more, the lion appears a victim outnumbered by hunters and is wounded.

Vergil, it would seem, has tailored his leonine imagery in accord with Roman perceptions about the animal. In Homer the lion is brave, aggressive and instinctual. The *Aeneid* has its fair share of Homeric lions, however, Vergil shows another side to the creature: encaged (*Aen*.7.15-16), frightened (*Aen*.9.793), stepping back (*Aen*.9.797), and hurt (*Aen*.12.5). Vergil's innovations are likely the result of *venationes*, where lions were killed in the arena. In adapting his leonine imagery, Vergil considered Roman ideas, which reveal a certain amount of awe and sympathy for the creature.

Just as the lion was closely aligned with the *Iliad*'s hero, Achilles, so is Aeneas, but with a difference. The only time Aeneas is connected with a lion is with its skin or with Cybele's lions. Vergil, I would suggest, had deliberately avoided comparing Aeneas to a lion to demonstrate that he is a hero different from Achilles. In fact, the association between Aeneas and lion skins makes him more like Hercules, and this seems to have been Vergil's intent. Cybele's lions are tamed

[245] I can find no references to lion's roaring, and the following references relate to the jaws of animals: blood-red jaws of wolves (*Il*.16.159), curved jaws of a boar (*Il*.11.416), jaws of a lions (*Il*.16.489; 17.63), and jaws of horses (*Il*.19.394).

and pose no threat, and thus align with Aeneas whose only physical interaction with the beast is its skin. Aeneas' association with Hercules via the lion skin suggests that like the Greek hero, he will bring order. Hercules was hated by Juno whose anger the Nemean lion embodied. It is surely no coincidence that Turnus, Juno's favourite in the *Aeneid*, is likened to a lion on three occasions (*Aen*.9.789-798; 10.453-456; 12.4-9). Thus the implication is that, just as Hercules overcame the Nemean lion and wore its skin, so Aeneas, who has already been associated with a lion skin throughout the epic, will vanquish the (Nemean) lion Turnus. The association of Cybele's lions with Aeneas creates a neat comparison that the *Aeneid*'s audience hardly would have missed. The goddess' lions are tame, which symbolise her civilising powers (recall her epithet *cultrix*, *Aen*.3.111), and Aeneas sits on a lion skin (*Aen*.8.175-178) as well as over the lion ornamentation of the ship (*Aen*.10.159); this image strongly suggests that like the goddess, he has control over lions and is hence a bringer of civilisation.

Chapter 4: The Deer

4.1 The Deer in Greek and Roman Thought

Before the domestication of livestock deer were a key source of meat in classical antiquity (Mackinnon 2014b:160). Three deer species inhabited the ancient Mediterranean: the red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), the fallow deer (*Dama dama*) and the roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*) (Kitchell 2014:44; Mackinnon 2014b:160-161). Literary references often do not make clear distinctions between the three species. For example Homer uses both ἔλαφος and πρόξ to describe the same animal (Kitchell 2014:44). Aristotle, on the other hand, makes a distinction between the red deer (ἔλαφος) and roe deer (πρόξ), but says nothing of the fallow deer (Kitchell 2014:44). The interchangeable and inconsistent use of nomenclature makes identifying the species mentioned in various literary sources rather difficult. One unifying physical property, however, is antlers. Judging from literary sources, antlers are the animal's most distinguishing feature; Homer, Aristotle, Vergil and Pliny all comment on the stag's antlers.[246] Aristotle for example describes the development and growth of antlers saying:

> In their first year [stags] do not grow horns, except for a protuberance announcing the beginning of horns, and this is short and shaggy. In their second year they grow straight horns for the first time, which resemble clothes pegs; and on this account they are called two-year stags. In the third year their horns fork into two branches, and in the fourth year they become more jagged.
>
> (*Hist.Anim*.9.4.611a31-611b1)

Vergil's description of stags also draws attention to their antlers: 'their heads, with branching antlers, held high' (*Aen*.1.189-190). This topic is also discussed by Pliny in his narration about the deer: 'stags have horns, and of all animals they alone shed them at a fixed time in spring each year' (*Nat.Hist*.8.50.115).

In addition to literary comments about antlers, archaeological remains are also enlightening. The antlers of red deer were collected for handicrafts, and objects carved from antlers are frequent finds among many ancient sites (Mackinnon 2014b:160). Pompeii, for instance, which had a large population of red deer nearby, has provided an abundance of antler-related objects (Kitchell 2014:44), which suggests that the city housed an extensive antler-working industry that not only

[246] Homer frequently calls the stag 'horned' (ἔλαφον κεραὸν, *Il*.3.24; ἔλαφον κεραὸν, *Il*.11.475) or 'high-horned' (ὑψίκερων ἔλαφον, *Ody*.10.158).

fulfilled the city's needs but also supplied a larger trade network (Mackinnon 2014b:160). As a consequence of the deer's usefulness in terms of its meat, antlers and hides, the animal quickly entered the realm of art and literature (Kitchell 2014:44).

The most frequent depiction of the animal in both art and literature is in the act of the hunt, where the animal's swiftness is accentuated. For example in his third *Nemean* Ode, Pindar (518 – 438 BCE, Bowra 1961:692) compares Aristocleides to Achilles, who runs so fast that he can chase down a deer on foot:

> Artemis and courageous Athena gazed at [Achilles] with wonder, as he killed deer without the aid of dogs and crafty snares, for he seized them on foot.
>
> (*Nem*.3.50-52)[247]

The fact that Achilles chases the deer on foot rather than using dogs or nets, illustrates his natural ability as opposed to taught skills, and thus serves as a heroic model for Aristocleides, winner of the pancration, to emulate (Verity and Instone 2007:169).[248] The deer's fleetness is also mentioned by Homer. [249] In one example, the poet compares Nausicaa to Artemis chasing boars and deer across the mountains:

> Just as Artemis the archeress wandering over mountains, along the high peaks of Taygetus or Erymanthus, enjoys herself in hunting wild boars and swift deer.
>
> (*Ody*.6.102-104)

Only heroes or gods were capable of outrunning the fleet deer; for mere mortals horses were a necessity.[250] Judith Barringer has made a detailed study of a 121 Attic vases, dating from ca. 600 – 425 BCE, that depict hunting scenes. Of these 50 show hunters pursuing wild boars while 71 illustrate deer hunting (Barringer 2001:15). The differences in composition are telling. Boar hunters are usually shown on foot, wielding spears and the boar is shown standing; on the other hand, deer hunters are always depicted mounted on horseback, equipped with spears, and the deer is shown wounded and stumbling or already dead (Barringer 2001:16).

---

[247] From the Greek text of Sandys (1915).
[248] Perhaps the most memorable example of the hero chasing a deer is Hercules' capture of the Ceryneian Hind. For his third labour, Hercules pursued this creature for an entire year, but eventually brought it back to Eurystheus while narrowly escaping the ire of Artemis whose sacred animal it was.
Refer to Pindar (*Oly*.3.25-30), Euripides (*Her*.375), Diodorus (*Bil*.*Hist*.4.13.1) and Apollodorus (*Bibl*.2.5.3).
[249] For other examples of the swiftness of the deer see: *Iliad* 11.113-120; 11.475-478; *Odyssey* 13.436.
[250] Plutarch remarks: 'we can run, even if less swiftly than the deer' (*Moralia* 963b). From the Greek text edited by Cherness and Helmbold (1957).

Another connection with hunting and deer which Homer's simile reveals is the deer's close tie with Artemis, the goddess of the hunt.[251] In her sanctuary at Messene, mentioned by Pausanias (*Grae*.*Desc*.4.4.2), archaeologists have uncovered deer bones amongst remains of other wild animals (Ekroth 2014:340). Similarly, burnt deer remains, mostly feet and antlers, have been discovered at the altar of a temple dedicated to the goddess at Monte Polizzo on Sicily (Ekroth 2014:340). Unlike cattle or sheep, the deer do not appear to have been sacrificed at the temple, but rather brought there, after having being caught in a hunt and slaughtered at home, possibly to supplement the live victims (Ekroth 2014:340). In this context Xenophon is enlightening. He describes how he built a sanctuary to Artemis of Ephesus at Scillus near Olympia, and established a yearly festival:

> The goddess provided the banqueters with barely meal, bread, wine, dried fruit, and meat of the sacrificed animals, some from the temple's herd and others from hunting. For the sons of Xenophon and the sons of other citizens used to hold a hunt at the time of the festival, and adult men who wished to join the hunt; some of the game they captured on the land of the temple itself, while the rest on Mount Pholoe—wild boars, roe deer and deer.
>
> (*Ana*.5.3.9-10)[252]

As Xenophon illustrates the animal supplied meat for religious festivities connected with Artemis; however, hunting deer was more complex than simply chasing the quarry on horseback. In his treatise on hunting, *Cynegeticus*, Xenophon offers the would-be hunter advice. Since the adult deer is nimble, it is better to bait the hind by capturing one of her fawns:

> After catching [the fawn] give it to the man in charge of the nets. It will cry loudly; on hearing and seeing the fawn, the hind will come running up to the net-holder in her attempt to free it. This is the moment to urge on the dogs and attack with javelins. After bringing her down, go onto the others and hunt them in the same manner.
>
> (*Cyne*.9.6-7)

Alternatively, foot-snares can be used to impede the animal, then the hunter simply has to follow the trail:

> When discovering that a foot-snare has been disturbed, follow the deer—letting the dogs loose and encouraging them—along the furrow made by the wood, keeping a lookout to see where it may

[251] One of the goddess' epithets was ἐλαφηβόλος ('huntress of stags'), see *Homeric Hymn* 27.2 and Plutarch, *Moralia* 966a.
[252] From the Greek text edited by Brownson (1980).

> run. This will be evident for the most part: for the stones will be disturbed and the trail of the dragging wood will be easily spotted on the tilled lands: if the deer crosses rough terrain, the rocks will have bark torn for the wood lying on them, and for this reason, the chase will be easy.
>
> (*Cyne*.9.18)

Xenophon offers little information about the deer's character, except to caution approaching the creature when caught: 'do not go near the animal; for if it is a stag it will strike with its antlers and feet, and if it is a hind, it will kick. Hence hurl a javelin from afar' (*Cyne*.9.20).

A clearer picture of what the Greeks knew about the deer's character, anatomy and habits is found in Aristotle, who studied the animal carefully. He correctly observed that the creature has no gall bladder (McMaster 1922:127):

> Some animals have a gall-bladder near the liver, while others do not. Of viviparous quadrupeds, the deer is without a gall-bladder, as is the roe deer, the horse, the mule, the ass, the seal and some types of swine.
>
> (*Hist.Anim*.2.15.506a23)

And that the deer chews cud:

> All animals that ruminate take pleasure and derive advantage from chewing cud, as much as they eat. Those animals that ruminate do not have upper incisor teeth, like cattle, sheep and goats. Nothing has yet been observed with regard to this among wild animals, except among wild animals that are sometimes domesticated, such as the deer, which as we know does indeed chew cud.
>
> (*Hist.Anim*.9.49.632b1-4)

Aristotle shows remarkable accuracy in describing the animal's physiology. Deer like other ruminant species such as sheep and cattle, have lost their upper incisor teeth and instead have a hard palate against which the lower incisors push, enabling the animal to rip up vegetation (Fletcher 2014:61). It is also interesting to note that Aristotle says the animal can be domesticated, as scenes from Attic vases, depicting women and children playing with the animal, echo Aristotle's observation (Lazenby 1949b:304). The domesticated deer features prominently in Varro and Pliny, as well as in the *Aeneid*, but more of this will be said later. As for the deer's nature, Aristotle says that the animal is fearful and perceptive: 'some are perceptive and cowardly, like the deer and hare' (*Hist.Anim*.1.1.488b15).

He provides an explanation, saying that the animal has a large heart:

> The heart is large in the hare, deer, the mouse, the hyena, the ass, the leopard, the weasel, and in nearly all other animals whose fearfulness is either openly visible or whose mischievous behaviour is revealed when running away.
>
> (*De Part.Anim*.3.4.667a20-23)[253]

To Aristotle the size of an animal's heart indicated the creature's temperament (*De Part.Anim* 3.4.667b1-19). The larger the heart the more watery and cold the blood is (*De Part.Anim* 2.4.650b27), which in the case of the deer makes the animal pusillanimous.[254] This aspect of the deer's character comes across emphatically in Homer, far more often than the animal's proverbial swiftness. In *Iliad* 1, Achilles and Agamemnon quarrel over Briseis, whom Agamemnon wants for himself; in response Achilles insults Agamemnon:

> But Achilles, the son of Peleus, once more addressed Agamemnon, the son of Atreus, with abusive words, and in no way put aside his anger: 'Drunkard, with the eyes of a dog and the heart of a deer, you never have the courage to arm yourself for war together with the men, or to join the captains of the Greeks in an ambush.'
>
> (*Il*.1.223-228)[255]

We have already come across the dog metaphor as a term of abuse in Homer where Helen uses it to describe herself, and Diomedes the cowardice of Hector.[256] Here Achilles uses it in connection with Agamemnon's shamelessness (ἀναιδὲς, *Il*.1.158), and greed since he threatens to take Briseis, Achilles' prize, for himself (*Il*.1.184-187). Not only is Agamemnon greedy but perhaps more damning, he is a coward. He chooses neither to fight with the λαός ('the whole army', *Il*.1.226) nor join the Greek leaders in a λόχος ('ambush party', *Il*.1.227). To a Homeric hero, ἀρετή ('manly virtue') was all important, and fearlessness in battle was the means to exhibit it (Kirk 1985:7). Agamemnon's behaviour illustrates, at least in the eyes of Achilles, his shortcoming as a warrior, lacking the heart (θυμῷ, *Il*.1.228) to fight and therefore worthy of a deer's heart (κραδίην δ᾽ ἐλάφοιο, *Il*.1.225).

---

[253] From the Greek text edited by Peck and Forster (1961).
[254] Aristotle contrasts this with the smaller hearts of bulls and wild boars whose blood is thick and earthy, making the animal prone to fits of passion and rage (*De Part.Anim* 2.4.651a1-5).
[255] For other examples of the deer's timidity see: *Iliad* 4.242-246; 11.113-121; 13.101-104; 21.29-32; 22.1-4. Compare Plutarch's remark about the deer's cowardice (*Moralia* 963a), where it is suggested that the animal's timid nature serves to protect it from predators and only appears as cowardice to human observers.
[256] See chapter 1, section 1.4.

From literary sources, artistic depictions and archaeological remains we can gather that to the ancient Greeks, the deer, although wild, was intimately involved with human society. None of the deer occurrences strike us as peculiar or strange, however, Aristotle records two rather odd bits of folklore about the animal. The antler as I mentioned above, was coveted for its usefulness in handiwork, yet, it would seem, that the attraction was not merely decorative or ornamental, as Aristotle explains:

> It is said that no one has ever seen the stag's left horn, for the animal keeps it hidden because it possesses some medicinal quality.
>
> (*Hist*.*Anim*.9.5.611a29-30)

The origin of this belief is difficult to trace; Aristotle is the first to mention it but offers no reason why the left antler would possess such qualities nor does he elaborate on the supposed medicinal properties.[257] Whatever the origin, the Greeks were not alone in attributing healing qualities to the stag's antlers. Evidence discovered in a tomb dating from the Han dynasty suggests that ancient Chinese doctors proscribed deer antler for a variety of human aliments such as kidney disease, rheumatism and male impotence (Kawtikwar et al. 2007:248-249).[258]

Unlike Aristotle, Pliny's comments on the medical properties of deer antlers are more detailed and reveal something of contemporary Roman folklore: 'Attacks of epilepsy are checked by the smell of either horn when burnt' (*Nat*.*Hist*.8.50.115). This intriguing bit of information is uniquely Roman.[259] Pliny is the first to record it, the origins of this belief, however, are lost to history.[260]

The usefulness of antlers seems endless as in addition to curing other aliments burning them would keep snakes away:[261]

> The smell of burning stag's horn is remarkable for driving away snakes.

---

[257] Later authors also remark about this, however, in their accounts it is the right antler: Antigonus of Carystus (*Histor*.*Mirab*.24), Pliny (*Nat*.*Hist*.8.50.115) and Aelian (*De Nat*.*Anim*.3.17).
[258] For a detailed discussion of deer antlers in ancient and contemporary traditional medicine see chapter 15 in *Deer Antlers*: *Regeneration, Function and Evolution* (1983) by Richard Goss.
[259] The first formal description of epilepsy is the treatise *On the Sacred Disease* supposedly authored by Hippocrates in the 5th century BCE (Jones 1959:134). According to Hippocrates the etiology of epilepsy is brain dysfunction that is already present in the embryo (*Sac*.*Dis*.8.1-4). Furthermore he states that epileptic fits can be caused by changes in the wind and temperature (*Sac*.*Dis*.11.1-26), sunstroke (*Sac*.*Dis*.13.1-10) and fear (*Sac*.*Dis*.17.1-9).
[260] The use of deer antlers as a cure for epilepsy is attested among the American Indians as well, who ate antlers in powered form, or inhaled the smell of burning antlers as means of treatment (Goss 1983:298).
[261] The ashes of burnt deer antlers, Pliny notes, can cure a variety of diseases and ailments: head lice (*Nat.Hist*.28.46.163); headache (*Nat.Hist*.28.46.166); eye inflammation (*Nat.Hist*.28.47.1667); toothache (*Nat.Hist*.28.49.178); spots on the face (*Nat.Hist*.28.50.187).

(*Nat*.*Hist*.8.50.118)

This property of antlers appears to be of Roman origin as well.[262] A likely source was the now lost work of Sextius Niger who wrote during the reign of Augustus (Beck 2005:xv; Ross 1961:834).[263] Pliny's observations about deer antlers suggest that the Romans formed their own opinions independently from Greek findings. When we delve deeper into the Romanised deer, more differences come to light. For instance, Pliny says that deer can swim and that they herd in lines:

> They cross seas swimming in a herd stretching out in a line, and place their heads on the haunches of those in front of them, and they take turns moving to the rear: this is best observed when they cross from Cilicia to Cyprus; and they do not see the land, but swim towards its scent.
>
> (*Nat*.*Hist*.8.50.114)

The notion of deer swimming sounds incredible, not to mention that Cilicia is roughly 140 km from Cyprus, yet there are contemporary instances of deer exhibiting such behaviour albeit over much shorter distances (Fletcher 2014:150; Masseti 2012:153).[264] Furthermore, Pliny suggests that they do this in formation (*porrecto ordine*), a tendency which Vergil also picks up on, saying: 'the whole herd followed behind them, grazing as one large troop in a valley' (*Aen*.1.185-186). Aristotle says nothing of deer swimming nor does he suggest that deer herd in lines; this appears to be an independent Roman observation.[265]

Perhaps the most marked difference between Greek and Roman ideas about the deer is that the Romans describe the animal as naturally not averse to human beings. Pliny for instance tells us that wild deer will seek help from human beings when chased by dogs: 'when beleaguered by a pack of dogs [stags] run to human beings of their own accord' (*Nat*.*Hist*.8.50.112).

---

[262] Aristotle mentions nothing of snakes, although he notes that the smell of burning antlers can be used to drive away most insects (*Hist*.*Anim*.4.8.534b24).

[263] The probability is very likely as Pliny's contemporary, the Greek physician Dioscorides (ca. 40 – 90 CE), who also comments on the effects of burning deer antlers against snakes (*Mat*.*Med*.2.59), is quoted independently from Sextius Niger (Beck 2005:xv).

[264] In a story covered by Laura Redpath of *The Press and Journal*, a Scotsman, Nick Ray, observed five deer swimming from the island Eilean a' Ghaill to the Scotish mainland, a distance of about 200 meters (Redpath 2015).
Other ancient natural historians also remark about deer swimming: Aelian suggests that Syrian deer swim to Cyprus on account of the island's rich pastures and similarly that deer swim from Epirus to Corcyra (*De Nat*.*Anim*.5.56); Oppian includes a long discussion of the swimming capabilities of deer (*Cyn*.2.217-232).

[265] Xenophon, in contrast, remarked: 'if deer are surrounded, they will even fling themselves into the sea and into ponds in their confusion' (*Cyne*.9.20). His observation suggests that deer behave in this manner when frightened, unlike the orderly migration across the sea mentioned by Pliny.

This is in stark contrast to Aristotle who says that wild deer can defend their lairs—and young—when under threat:

> This [lair] is a steep rocky ridge, which has only one entrance, and there they say [the deer] stands its ground and defends itself.
>
> (*Hist.Anim*.9.5.611a21-23)

Aristotle is more correct than he may seem at first glance, as deer in fact do defend their territory, lairs and offspring (Fletcher 2014:36, 48). Nonetheless, Pliny's observation reveals an important development in the way the ancient Romans thought of the animal. Pliny's comment seems to indicate that the Romans saw the deer as an animal that existed at the threshold of wilderness and civilisation. This perception may provide a reason for why keeping deer as pets was evidently popular among many Romans. The Roman general Quintus Sertorius (ca. 122 - 72 BCE), for example, was given a white fawn while he was campaigning in Spain (Momigliano 1961b:830):

> Having received the [white fawn], Sertorius at that moment only took moderate pleasure in the gift; but in time, after making the animal so tame and gentle that it obeyed his call, it followed him wherever he walked and put up with crowds and all the soldiers' noise.
>
> (Plutarch *Sert*.11.3)[266]

Over time Sertorius came to see the white fawn as more than just a gift; in fact he became quite fond of the creature. The choice of the word φιλάνθρωπον ('loving mankind') is significant as it usually applies to dogs and horses (Liddell, Scott and Jones 1996:1982). The implication of this is that Sertorius saw the fawn as pet as one would a canine or equine companion.[267] The Republican orator Quintus Hortensius (114 – 50 BCE) also kept tame stags, among other animals, that had been trained to respond to the blow of a horn.[268] Varro tells us that Hortensius called his animal enclosure a *therotrophium* (*De Re Rust*.3.13.3) that is 'a zoological garden', a revealing name which illustrates his devotion to the animals housed therein. In addition, two examples from poetry echo the accounts of Sertorius and Hortensius. The myth of Cyparissus, as retold by Ovid, includes the addition of a pet stag which is accidently killed by Cyparissus who is so overcome

[266] From the text by Bernadotte (1959-1967).
[267] The first century CE writer on agriculture, Columella, offers intriguing insight into the reasons why certain people kept deer: 'wild animals, such as roe deer, fallow deer, and also other types of antelopes, deer and wild boars sometimes serve to beautify their owners' homes and also gratify their pleasure, and sometimes to bring profit and income' (*De Rust*.9.1.1). From the Latin text of Boyd (1941).
[268] Varro *De Re Rust*.3.13.3

with grief that he wishes to kill himself.[269] The other example is found in *Aeneid* 7 where the Latin maiden Silvia has a pet stag (but I shall return to this later).

In spite of examples of pet deer in the Roman world, captive animals were not always kept as pets. Deer, among other wild animals, were frequently bred on game farms owing to the popularity of venison among Rome's elite (Kron 2014:122). An idea of the popularity of venison can be gained by examining the *Apicius*, whose authorship is attributed[270] to the noted gourmet Marcus Gavius Apicius, who lived during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius (Duff 1961a:68).[271] There are seven recipes in the *Apicius* for preparing venison, one of them includes making a hot sauce:

> Sauce for venison: crush pepper, lovage, caraway, wild-marjoram, celery seed, laserwort root, fennel seed, all crushed fine, moisten with broth, wine, raisin wine, and a little olive oil. When it is boiling, bind it with fine meal. Smear the cooked venison with this sauce on the inside and outside, then serve. For board-shoulder deer and other types of game prepare in a similar method and use the same seasoning.
>
> (*Apic*.8.2.1)[272]

In addition to supplying Rome with venison, captured deer were also frequently part of *venationes* in the amphitheatre, likely because the animal was readily available in comparison to other animals (Epplett 2001a:296). Jocelyn Toynbee notes an example of an Augustan coin that depicts a lion devouring a stag and argues that this may be evidence of the latter animal's presence in one of the emperor's *venationes* (1973:374). Martial offers the first literary evidence of a deer in the arena saying:

> While the agitated doe was fleeing the swift Molossian hounds and with diverse tricks devising lingering delays, she came to a halt before the feet of Caesar as a suppliant and like a man begging; and the dogs did not touch their prey.
>
> (*De Spect*.33)

The event in question took place during the reign of Titus in the newly completed Colosseum (Shackleton Bailey 1993:2). Martial's description of the deer is very moving and evokes in the reader heartfelt sympathy for the poor creature.

---

[269] Ovid *Metam*.10.106-142.
[270] The *Apicius* is attributed to Apicius, however, it was only complied in the late 4th century CE or early 5th century CE (Milham 1966:46). In spite of this late date, the majority of recipes date from the first centuries BCE and CE (Milham 1966:46).
[271] Both Pliny and Tacitus mention him (*Nat*.*Hist*.9.30.66; *Annales* 4.1).
[272] From the edition edited by Giarratano and Vollmer (1922).

From the above discussion it becomes clear that the perception of deer changed over time. In Homer it represents speed and fear, aspects that Aristotle confirmed. Yet in the Roman world new ideas about the animal emerged, largely, I would argue, because of the deer's presence in society as a pet or as victim in the arena. When we look at Vergil's depiction of the animal in the *Aeneid*, the most telling innovation is the sympathy with which he characterises the deer. This is surely symptomatic of the poet's contemporary Rome.

4.2 Deer in *Aeneid* 1

Deer are in fact the first animals to feature in Vergil's epic. Deer make their appearance in Book 1 of the *Aeneid*, and as Victor Pöschl has observed, the opening scenes of the epic should be read very carefully as 'they contain in essence all the forces which constitute the whole' (1962:24).[273] The opening lines introduce the subject of the epic (*Aen*.1.1-11), while the next two-hundred lines tell of Juno's hatred for the Trojans (*Aen*.1.12-33) and describe in detail how she intends to put her hatred into action (*Aen*.1.34-222). It is against this background that we encounter the deer, for at Juno's urging, Aeolus, king of the winds, sends a storm (*Aen*.1.69-70) and as a result the Trojans loose eleven ships, but thanks to Neptune (*Aen*.1.102-156) their remaining ships reach the safety of Libya (*Aen*.1.157-179), where Aeneas goes ashore to look for survivors and comes across three stags strolling along the shore:

> In the meantime Aeneas climbed a rock to see afar, and searched the wide sea's main, in the hope that he might glimpse some trace of Antheus thrown overboard and the Phrygian ships, or of Capys or Caicus' arms towering upon a deck. Aeneas saw no ships in sight, but three stags wandering on the shore, and following behind them their whole herd, grazing as one large troop in a valley. He stopped, and took hold of his bow and swift arrows, which faithful Achates had been carrying. He first brought down the leaders, their heads, with branching antlers, held high. Then, turning to face the herd, Aeneas with arrows in hand drove them in panic among the leafy forest. The victor did not stop until he had brought seven large carcasses to the ground, equal in number to his ships. Then he returned to the harbour and shared the meat with his all his companions.
>
> (*Aen*.1.180-194)

This passage recalls Odysseus' stag hunt on the island of Circe, where he climbs a cliff and kills a stag to feed his men:

> But while I was walking, as I was near to the curved ship, one of the gods, who took pity on me in my loneliness, sent a large, high-horned stag right across my path. He was coming down towards the river from the forest pastures to drink, for the might of the sun drove him there. As he came out I struck him on the spine in the middle of his back, and my brazen spear passed straight through him, and with shriek he shank down in the dust as his life flew far away.
>
> (*Ody*.10.156-163)

[273] The symbolic importance of Aeneas' hunt in *Aeneid* 1 and subsequent hunting scenes in the *Aeneid* has received a great deal of attention: Putnam (1965:153ff), Dunkle (1973:128-143), Lyne (1987:193ff), Staley (1991:25-38), Otis (1995:70-76), and de Villiers (2013:47-59).

Like Aeneas, Odysseus is shipwrecked. However, the latter decides to feed his men first and then send out a scouting party to look for survivors (*Ody*.10.151-155). Odysseus comes across a stag by chance and attributes this boon to some god (τίς...θεῶν, *Ody*.10.157). On the other hand Aeneas decides to explore his surroundings in the hope of finding his three lost captains (*Aen*.1.181-182), but when the opportunity presents itself, he kills seven deer, enough to feed the crews of his remaining seven ships (192-193).

Both passages present the heroes as just providers for their men, yet when we look at the way in which the animals are described in each episode, a different perspective emerges in Vergil's rendition.[274] The Homeric passage concentrates on Odysseus, the hunter, and pays little attention to the behaviour of the stag as victim of the chase. Except for the mention of the sun's heat driving the stag to the river, Homer offers little in the way of describing the deer's behaviour. It is as if the stag merely exists to be hunted and has no existence of its own. It is only the animal's death that merits description. The stag's death is described in terms (ἔπτατο θυμός, *Ody*.10.163) that call to mind the phrase used in the *Iliad* to express the death of heroes in battle or the death of wild boars, horses or sacrificial animals (Heubeck and Hoekstra 1990:53).[275]

In contrast, Vergil goes to great lengths in creating a scene of natural tranquillity: the herd is orderly (*Aen*.1.185-186) and follows the lead of the three stags (184). Here we find deer existing in their own right, they are complete and do not exist merely to be hunted. Aeneas first shoots the three stags, easily spotted by their branching antlers (189-190), which judging from their size suggest the age of the three. Although Vergil describes the kill in less violent terms than Homer (ἀντικρὺ δόρυ χάλκεον ἐξεπέρησε, *Ody*.10.162), the effect of the kill is more dramatic: the once orderly herd now runs in terror into the woods (190-191).[276] In my opinion the most important theme in this entire episode is that Aeneas' fails to consider the consequences of his impromptu hunt. In the *Aeneid*'s subsequent deer hunts we find this again: Aeneas as a shepherd wounds a

[274] Johnson argues that the Homeric passage illustrates Odysseus's qualities as a leader of men (1976:35), he is followed by Heubeck and Hoekstra (1990:53). As for Aeneas, Roger Hornsby remarks: 'Aeneas' intention is clearly beneficent and so is the result' (1970:2). Vance (1981:132), Dunkle (1973:129) and Anderson (1969:25) also see the hunt in a positive light as it emphasises not only his martial skills but also his concern for the welfare of his men.

[275] For wild boar references see: *Il*.12.150 and *Ody*.19.454; horse: *Il*.16.469; sacrificial victims: *Il*.3.294; the death of heroes: *Il*1.205; 6.17; 12.386; 21.417; 22.68.

[276] Gregory Staley argues that Aeneas' role as deer hunter in this passage and subsequent passages make him both destroyer and creator (1990:26). These two aspects are a necessity for as a bringer of civilisation, Aeneas destroys so as to create anew; in much the same way as Rome was born of Troy's fall. Annemarie de Villiers on the other hand notes that through recurring instances of deer hunting, Aeneas' character becomes increasingly more callous, which at the epic's end results in Aeneas needlessly killing Turnus (2013:47).

doe without considering the creature running off into the woods to bleed to death (*Aen*.4.68-73). Like Aeneas his father, Ascanius hunts a stag in Book 7, yet this time the unintended consequences are far darker as this event leads to war (*Aen*.7.475-502). In treating the deer as more than merely an object to be hunted, Vergil rouses not only our sympathy for the animal but also charges it with symbolic value that resonates throughout the *Aeneid*.

4.3 Deer in *Aeneid* 4[277]

Perhaps the most memorable appearance of the deer (or at least the one that has sparked the greatest interest) is the wounded-doe simile of Book 4, in which Dido is compared to a doe, wounded by her love for Aeneas:[278]

> Wretched Dido was ablaze with passion and wandered the entire city distraught; like a doe struck by an arrow, which, when caught off her guard, a shepherd had pierced from afar while chasing her with shafts through Cretan forests and without knowing he had left a winged bolt in her; while she traverses the woodlands and ravines of Dicte in her escape, the deadly shaft clings to her side.
>
> (*Aen*.4.68-73)

Unlike the hunt of *Aeneid* 1, here it is a shepherd rather than a hunter who shoots the deer in the forests of Crete. This is in contrast to Homer, where shepherds normally kill wild animals that are vicious and a threat to their flocks, such as lions or wolves.[279] The deer is no threat so why would a shepherd, charged with protecting animals, choose to shoot a defenceless animal (Putnam 2011:78; de Villiers 2013:51)? Moreover, this shepherd is a determined hunter, as he sets out weapon in hand, *agens telis* (Aen.4.11) (Lyne 1987:196; Chew 2002:623). Shepherds in fact were known to hunt deer, pheasant and rabbit to supplement their diet (Green 1996:228).[280] This was in part because shepherds rarely consumed the meat of slaughtered sheep themselves but would more frequently sell the meat (Howe 2014:144, 149-150).[281] Columella is helpful in this regard as he explains who consumed the sheep's meat:

> Then the sheep also satisfies the hunger of countrymen with an abundance of cheese and milk, but also appeases the tables of the wealthy with pleasing and varied meals.
>
> (*De Re Rust*.7.2.1-2)

[277] The other deer reference in Book 4.151-155 has already been discussed above in section 3.5.
[278] A variety of views prevail: de Villiers (2013:51) and Chew (2002:623) suggest that the simile typifies Aeneas' pursuit of personal desires; Thornton on the other hand suggests that the simile evokes sympathy for the hunted while also emphasising the cruelty of the hunter (1996:389-391); in contrast O' Hara (1993:1-13) argues that the simile is an allusion to the poet and soldier Cornelius Gallus.
[279] For example, in a simile describing Diomedes, he is likened to a lion wounded by a shepherd (*Il*.5.136-143); or the Greeks compared to wolves falling upon shepherd-less lambs (*Il*.16.351-356). Also note *Iliad* 18.161-164.
[280] Pliny suggest that shepherds had a particular trick for hunting deer: 'they [deer] are beguiled by the pipe and song of shepherds' (*Nat.Hist.*8.50.114).
[281] See Varro's remarks on sheep rearing (*De Re Rust*.2.2.1-20) and his comments on the wool and milk industry (*De Re Rust*.2.9.1-12).

Columella's comment suggests that rural folk such as shepherds more often consumed the sheep's milk and cheese, while the wealthier citizens could afford more extravagant sheep related products such as meat. In addition Vergil himself says that hunting deer is a pleasant pastime for shepherds:[282]

> Oh if you only were happy to live with me in a simple house in the humble countryside, and to shoot stags.
>
> (*Ecl*.2.28-29)

In the light of this, the shepherd in the Dido-wounded doe simile is not behaving out of character or indeed cruelly, rather he is merely hunting for the pot. Moreover, the image of a shepherd hunting appears to be an epic innovation of Vergil's since it has no antecedent in Homer; perhaps its origin is to be found in Vergil's observation or knowledge of the herdsman's life.

The wounded doe, on the other hand, has earlier epic origins as Otis suggests (1995:72-73). When we compare the three passages, however, we shall see how Vergil has reworked the simile to suit his own ends. The first comes from the *Iliad* where Odysseus is likened to a wounded stag set upon by jackals that flee when a lion approaches:

> Then they found Odysseus, dear to Zeus, and on either side surrounded by Trojans; as in the hills when a pack of tawny jackal surrounds a horned stag that has been wounded by an arrow launched from a man's bow-string. He escapes the man and flees quickly so long as the blood flows warm and his limbs can carry him. But when the swift arrow has finally overpowered him, then the savage jackals begin to tear him to pieces among the hills in a shady glade, when all of a sudden some god sends a ravening lion against them; the jackals scatter in flight, and now the lion mangles the stag.
>
> (*Il*.11.473-481)

The second wounded-deer passage is found in Apollonius' *Argonautica* in a simile where Medea is compared to a frightened fawn after realising that her father Aeetes knows about her betrayal:

> Hera planted the most monstrous fear in the heart [of Medea]; and she trembled, like some nimble fawn that the howling of dogs has terrified in the thicket of a deep forest. For at that moment she

[282] Michael Paschalis observes that hunting is a frequent pastime of the pastoral life in the *Eclogues* (3.12-13, 75; 5.60-61; 7.29-30; 8.28; 10.55-60) (2005:56). Furthermore Paschalis notes that herdsmen in the *Idylls* of the Hellenistic poet Theocritus, the antecedent of Vergil's *Eclogues*, do not engage in hunting except for the mythical figure Adonis (2005:56).

> realised that the help [she had given to Jason] had not escaped her father's notice, and that every misery would quickly brim over.
>
> (*Argo*.4.11-15)

Like Vergil, Homer's stag is wounded, however, by an unspecified man, who is not a shepherd. In contrast to Vergil's version, we also have jackals and a lion. The jackals as scavengers roam the hills and fall upon the wounded stag—an easy kill. However to their dismay a lion, an apex predator, steals their kill and the jackals now become, like the stag, the hunted. Homer's description of the stag is rather brief; shot at (βεβλημένον, *Il*.11.475) but with enough mettle to escape at first (ὄφρ᾽ αἷμα λιαρὸν καὶ γούνατ᾽ ὀρώρῃ, *Il*.11.477), before finally succumbing to the fatal arrow (δαμάσσεται ὠκὺς ὀϊστός, *Il*.11.478) In death the stag becomes a prize in a contest between jackals and a lion, a scene that is the most vivid part of the whole simile.

Like Vergil and Homer, Apollonius also sets his fawn simile in the countryside (βαθείης / τάρφεσιν ἐν ξυλόχοιο, *Argo*.4.12-13). Here however, we find no human pursuers but dogs (κυνῶν, *Argo*.4.13). Moreover, this fawn receives no fatal shot nor does it become the food of predators. Returning to the wounded doe simile in the *Aeneid*, it appears Vergil has adopted the fateful arrow-wound from Homer and, reworking the theme of Medea's fear, combined the two to reflect Dido's concern over her passion for Aeneas (*uritur infelix Dido, totaque vagatur / urbe furens*, 68-69). In short Dido's passion, like Medea's fear, drives her into the wilderness but her love for Aeneas is just as deadly (*letalis*, Aen.4.73) as the arrow that killed (δαμάσσεται, *Il*.11.478) the stag in Homer.

Thus far I have neglected two important aspects of Vergil's wounded deer simile: the adjectives *incautam* (Aen.4.70) and *nescius* (Aen.4.72) describing Dido-doe and Aeneas-shepherd respectively, and the location of Mt Dicte (*Dictaeos*, Aen.4.73). Vergil's choice of *incauta* ('incautious') suggests that Dido has not considered the consequences of her passion for Aeneas (Thornton 1996:390). Her miscalculation leads to the fatal arrow (*ferrum*, Aen.4.70), symbolic of her love, clinging in her side. [283] At the same time Aeneas the shepherd is to blame, for although bearing no malicious intentions, he shoots without thinking of the consequences (*nescius*, 72); the doe is left to wander alone, bleeding to death—foreshadowing Dido's suicide when Aeneas

[283] On top of the personal consequences Dido suffers because of her being *incauta*, her city suffers too: 'the towers in the process of construction no longer rose up. The young men no longer practised with arms, and neither harbours nor ramparts for defence in war were readied; half-finished work on the enormous spires of the walls stood suspended, and the heaven-reaching crane did not move' (*Aen*.4.86-89).

abandons her (*Aen*.4.642-705). In this simile, like the deer hunt in *Aeneid* 1, Vergil uses deer as a potent symbol for expressing the dangers of thoughtless hunting, or, in this case, a foolhardy romance.

In the deer similes of Homer and Apollonius the forest and woodland are generic, no particular countryside is mentioned. Vergil, however, places the simile on Crete (*Aen*.4.70) and has the doe wander through the *silvas saltusque*…*Dictaeos* ('woods and ravines of Dicte', *Aen*.4.72-73). A number of commentators have remarked that the location of Crete, renowned in antiquity for the skill of its marksmen, adds to the accuracy and lethality of the shepherd's shot (Thornton 1996:390; Johnson 1976:81). In spite of the mortal wound the doe does not die then and there (as one would expect), but escapes to Dicte. Servius' comments on the mountain's name are enlightening:[284]

> *MOUNT DICTE of Crete*. Wounded deer seek dittany, by which, after eating completely they expel darts from their wounds, as we read in the 12th book (414) 'these herbs are well known to wild goats as a remedy.'
>
> (*Comm.Verg.Aen.*4.73)

In the light of Servius' note, the wounded doe (Dido) may be running into the woodlands of Dicte not to bleed to death, but rather to find dittany to cure herself (O'Hara 1993:14; Morgan 1994:68). When Vergil himself describes *dictamnum* in *Aeneid* 12, it is in a scene where Venus infused dittany with ambrosia and panacea, and invisibly gives the balm to Iapyx to cure Aeneas:

> Then, alarmed by her son's undeserved anguish, Venus his mother plucked from Cretan Ida a stalk of dittany, covered with downy leaves and purple flowers; these herbs are well known to wild goats as a remedy, when winged arrows remain attached to their backs.
>
> (*Aen*.12.411-415)

Vergil attributes the knowledge of dittany to wild goats, a fact that Aristotle and Theophrastus echo[285], yet its healing qualities work just as well on humans for: 'Then the arrow following the motion of Iapyx's hand slipped out without force, and Aeneas' strength returned as fresh as ever' (*Aen*.12.423-424).

[284] This belief is reported by Pliny as well: 'deer have made known dittany through which, by feeding on it when wounded, the darts fall out at once' (*Nat*.*Hist*.25.52.92).
[285] See Aristotle (*Hist*.*Anim*.9.6.2) and Theophrastus (*Hist*.*Plant*.9.16.1-2).

The mention of Crete and Dicte in the wounded doe simile adds to the complexity of the episode. We may imagine that the doe does find the dittany to cure herself—her fate is unknown—but we know that in the end no magical herb can cure Dido, she succumbs to the wounds of love.[286]

[286] Compare a line from Ovid's *Epistulae*, where Oenone, abandoned by Paris, laments: 'wretched me, that love cannot be cured by herbs' (*Ep*.5.149).

4.4 Deer in *Aeneid* 5

The deer of Book 5 are noticeably different from their previous counterparts, where we encountered them in an actual hunt and in a hunting simile. Here we see the creature as part of an ekphrasis, depicting the myth of Ganymede's abduction. Like the lion pelt that Aeneas gives to Salius in the foot race (*Aen*.5.348-352)[287], Cloanthus, as winner of the ship race, also receives a prize from the hands of the Trojan leader; an embroidered chlamys:[288]

> A gold-embroidered cloak to the winner, which was edged with a double meandering pattern of costly Meliboean purple; and woven on it was the young prince Ganymede pursuing swift stags with his nimble javelin on leafy Mount Ida, and almost breathless with eagerness; but then Jove's thunder-bearing eagle snatched him from Mount Ida and carried him upwards in his hooked talons; his aged attendants stretched out their hands to the heavens in vain, and his dogs barked furiously at the air.
>
> (*Aen*.5.250-257)

The choice and decoration of the gift are both eminently suitable as a prize. The chlamys from the Greek χλαμύς generally means a military cloak or woollen outer garment (Lewis and Short 1980:327). In the *Aeneid*, however, it also carries strong Trojan associations, as it is either worn by Trojans or given as gifts to Trojan allies (Fratantuono and Smith 2015:313).[289] By presenting Cloanthus with a chlamys, Aeneas honours him not only as military man but also a Trojan. The decoration is equally Trojan, but a more personal significance may lie behind the choice. While the myth of Ganymede features prominently in both Greek and Roman literature, the first account of it is in the *Iliad*.[290] In Book 20, Achilles taunts Aeneas and suggests that he retreat (*Il*.20.195-98). In response, Aeneas boasts of his proud lineage—Dardanus, his son Erichthonius and his grandson Tros, father of Ganymede:

---

[287] Refer to section 4.4 above.
[288] Aeneas himself declares Cloanthus the victor (*victorem magna praeconis voce Cloanthum / declarant*, *Aen*.5.245-246).
[289] The chlamys is worn by six other characters in the *Aeneid*: Ascanius/Iulus (*Aen*.3.484), Evander (who received one from Anchises when he was young, *Aen*.8.167), Pallas (*Aen*.8.588), the son of Arcens (*Aen*.9.582), and Chloreus (*Aen*.11.775). Dido is the only woman who dons a chlamys before the hunt (*Aen*.4.137).
[290] For other references to the myth, see: the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* (5.202-217), Pindar (*Olym*.1.44; 10.102), Euripides (*IA*.1051), Plato (*Phae*.255), Ovid (*Metam*.10.152), and Statius (*Theb*.1.459).

> And from Tros three noble sons were born, Ilus, Assaracus, and godlike Ganymede, who was born the fairest of men; because of his beauty the gods snatched him up to be Zeus' wine steward and that he might live among the immortals.
>
> (*Il*.20.231-235)

I do not think it incidental that Vergil makes Aeneas impart a Ganymede-themed gift to Cloanthus in the *Aeneid*, for the cloak's decoration recreates the words that Aeneas spoke to Achilles in the *Iliad*. With this continuity Vergil may be implying that the story of Ganymede holds some personal significance for the Trojan leader. In spite of the similarities, the imagery of Vergil's Ganymede cloak also includes additions of his own. Before Vergil, Ganymede is never in the role of hunter nor are stags or dogs part of the myth.[291] This should make us read the ekphrasis with care. Like the deer hunts of Book 1 and 4, Ganymede's hunt leads to consequences that the youth could never have foreseen. His enthusiasm for chasing the nimble stags is summed up in the words *acer, anhelanti similis* ('Ardent, as if out of breath', *Aen*.5.254); yet the events that follow take him by surprise. Out of breath and distracted, Jupiter's *armiger* (*Aen*.5.255), the god's own eagle, snatches the boy up. The stags, previously the hunted (escaped?), exchange roles with Ganymede, who now becomes the prey of a far mightier predator. The eagle's claws are hooked (*pedibus…uncis*, *Aen*.5.255) and the bird's strength and speed is manifest: *sublimem…rapuit* ('Snatched up on high', *Aen*.5.255). Here the eagle is characterised as a bird of prey, foreshadowing later depictions of the eagle pursing hares or swans (*Aen*.9.561-566; 12.247-256); however, this eagle is not necessarily out to harm Ganymede. This eagle acts on its master's command and presumably Jupiter would not want his future wine attendant harmed. Furthermore, the eagle is described as *praepes* (*Aen*.5.254), usually translated as 'swift or quick of flight', on the other hand, *praepes* also denotes a bird bringing a favourable omen (Lewis and Short 1980:1425).[292] Among the Romans the eagle as Jupiter's bird was held in high esteem, so much so that in 104 BCE the consul Gaius Marius decreed the eagle as the *proprie*, the special emblem

[291] Although not mentioned in Homer, the eagle appears in Apollodorus (*Bib*.3.12.2) as well as in art: a red figure krater (ca. 500 -450 BCE) in the Leon Levy and Shelby White Collection depicts the eagle perched on Zeus' sceptre (von Bothmer 1990:156-157), while Pliny describes a bronze statue by Leochares representing the eagle carrying Ganymede off (*Nat.Hist*.34.19.79). I can find no earlier reference to stags and dogs in the Ganymede myth. Statius on the other hand follows Vergil, calling Ganymede the *Phrygius…venator* ('Phrygian hunter', *Theb*.1.548) as well as including the barking dogs (*Theb*.1.550).

[292] The well-omened flight of birds appears in Aeneas's words to Helenus in *Aeneid* 3: 'I went to Helenus, the prophet, and asked him questions: "Trojan-born, interpreter of the gods, you know the divine will of Apollo, and you divine his tripods, his laurel trees at Claros, the stars, the sounds of birds, and the portents of their wings in flight, come speak"' (*Aen*.3.358-362).

of Roman legions (*Nat*.*Hist*.10.5.16). Taking *praepes* and the symbolic importance of the Roman eagle into account, it is possible to interpret the *rapuit* of Ganymede in a positive light.

Opposed to this is the sombre note with which the ekphrasis ends. The final images show the youth's guardians throwing their hands up to the heavens (256) and his dogs barking angrily at the empty air (257). Michael Putnam (1995c:424), followed by Julia Hejduk (2009:308), notes the conspicuous absence of Ganymede's assumption to Olympus. Putnam argues that Vergil deliberately chose to end with loss and rage since this ekphrasis serves as paradigm for the epic's overall story of loss and rage (2009:419-420; 438-439). I agree that this is one possible reading, however, in other versions of the myth, Ganymede is always present among the gods as Jupiter's cupbearer. Vergil may have left this part of the myth out chiefly because it was so well known, and, as Phillip Hardie points out, the readers could have filled in the missing part about Ganymede's apotheosis (2000:240). This interpretation is strengthened when one considers Juno's jealousy over the preferment of Ganymede in Book 1:

> There remained, deep within her mind, Paris' judgment and the insult of spurning her beauty, and the hated Trojan race, and the honours of abducted Ganymede.
>
> (*Aen*.1.26-28)

This episode appears to fill in the missing part of the Ganymede ekphrasis. After all, if the eagle had not brought Ganymede to Olympus, Juno would have no reason to be jealous.

The deer's role in the Ganymede ekphrasis is minor yet like its earlier incarnations, the animal entices the hunter siren-like to throw caution to the wind, leading to unforeseen consequences. Luckily Ganymede's fate is different: his hunting causes no disorder, nor is he wounded. He escapes both these fates and dwells among the gods.

4.5 Deer in *Aeneid* 6

In the concluding section of Book 6, Aeneas and the Sibyl finally reach the shade of Anchises, who reveals to his son the glory of Troy's descendants (*Aen*.6.756-759). Anchises proceeds to tell Aeneas of the great Romans awaiting birth, who will add to the glory of Rome: the Alban Kings and Romulus (*Aen*.6.760-787), and the Julian family, of which Augustus is the most eminent (*Aen*.6.788-807). During Anchises' description of Augustus, he contrasts the emperor with Hercules and Bacchus, thus providing us with our next deer reference:

> Indeed, not even Hercules travelled over so much of the earth, although he shot the bronze-footed hind, and brought peace to the woods of Erymanthus, and made Lerna tremble with his bow; nor Bacchus when he drove tigers from Nysa's high peak and triumphantly steered their yokes with reins entwined with vine-leaves.
>
> (*Aen*.6.801-805)

Here Hercules and Bacchus are cited as examples for Augustus. They were both the sons of Jupiter by mortal women and were deified not only for being demi-gods, but also because they brought civilisation to distant parts of the world (Ganiban et al 2012:456-457).[293] Three of Hercules' labours are mentioned in this passage: the Ceryneian Hind (*Aen*.6.802), the Erymanthian Boar (*Aen*.6.802) and the Lernaean Hydra (*Aen*.6.803).[294] These mythical beasts were associated with Arcadia in the Peloponnese, the doe, however, was not killed (in other versions Hercules captures it alive[295]) near the town of Ceryneia; Hercules had to travel far to the north, beyond Thrace, to the land of Hyperborea: 'while pursuing the doe, Hercules had also seen that land beyond the cold blasts of Boreas, the north wind' *Olym*.3.31-32). [296]

Hercules not only kills beasts, thereby establishing order, but also traverses the world, actions that Augustus himself would repeat. In fact, one could argue that Augustus surpassed his mythical counterpart since during his 40 year reign Rome's dominion expanded more than in any comparable period of her earlier history (Eck 2007:124).[297] Hercules' northern sojourn to kill the

[293] On Bacchus/Dionysus' birth from Semele, and Hercules from Alcmene, see *Iliad* 14.321-325.
[294] For Apollodorus' telling of Hercules' capture of the Erymanthian Boar see section 3.5; for references to the Lernaean Hydra see section 2.7.
[295] Refer to note 248 above.
[296] The boar is named after Mount Eurymanthus while the Hydra is named for the town Lerna (Ganiban et al 2012:457).
[297] After his defeat of Antony and the conquest of Egypt (30 BCE), Augustus set about expanding the empire in every direction: Northern Spain, Illyricum, Pannonia and Galatia (Eck 2007:124). For the emperor's own account refer to chapters 26 and 27 of the *Res Gestae*.

brazen footed doe gains greater significance when one considers that part of Augustus' expansion included his northern expedition to pacify the Alpine tribes (*Res Gest*.26.3).[298]

The line referring to Bacchus in a similar way serves to convey both the idea of Augustus' expansion and civilising efforts. After being born from Jupiter's thigh, Bacchus was raised by nymphs on Mt. Nysa which, according to various accounts, is located between the Nile and Phoenicia, or in Asia, Ethiopia, or India.[299] Whichever Mount Nysa Vergil may be referring to matters little, as, like Hyrcania[300] it serves as a geographical maker for some distant and exotic land.[301]

Like the Great Mother, Bacchus is accustomed to having his chariot pulled by big cats such as lions, panthers, lynxes, leopards, and tigers, a Roman addition (Otto 1965:111-112).[302] The image of Bacchus triumphantly steering fearsome tigers highlights the god's civilising powers while the remoteness of Nysa stresses the vast distances he has travelled. Like Hercules and Bacchus, in his efforts to expand Roman authority, Augustus overcomes fearsome beasts (barbarians) and travels the world, even surpassing his divine counterparts.

---

[298] Although Vergil does not mention it here, the doe is said to have had golden antlers (Apollodorus *Bibl*.2.5.3) in addition to brazen feet.
The antlers are rather puzzling since only stags have antlers, however, Pindar's mention of Hyperborea may allude to reindeer, which inhabit arctic climates and are the only species of deer in which both sexes grow antlers (Fletcher 2014:47).

[299] For Mt Nysa located between the Nile and Phoenicia see: *Homeric Hymn* 1.8-10 and Diodorus Siculus (*Bil*.*Hist*.4.2.3). Apollodorus has Asia (*Bibl*.3.4.3), while Herodotus says Ethiopia (*Hist*.3.97) and India is suggested by Pliny (*Nat*.*Hist*.6.23.79) and Philostratus (*Vit*.*Apoll*.2.2).

[300] See chapter 1, section 1.3 above.

[301] An Indian Mt Nysa is very likely what Vergil has in mind since in the preceding lines Anchises says of Augustus: 'he will extend his rule beyond the Garamantians and the Indians' (*Aen*.6.794-795).
It is also worthwhile to recall that the tigers which Augustus exhibited for the first in Rome (11 BCE), he received from an Indian embassy (Toynbee 1973:70).

[302] For Bacchus' association with lions refer to section 3.2 above.
Panthers and leopards were already common features of the god in the Greek world: Diodorus Siculus for example says that Dionysus wore panther skins for combat (*Bil*.*Hist*.4.4.4), while Philostratus in describing a painting of Ariadne mentions that the leopard is a symbol of the god (*Imag*.1.15). Later Philostratus explains this by saying that Dionysus is especially devoted to the animal because it is excitable and leaps like a Bacchante (*Imag*.1.19). There are artistic references as well, most notable: a pebble mosaic (330-300 BCE) from Pella showing Dionysus riding a panther (Pollitt 1986:213), and a red-figure krater (370-360 BCE) depicting the god seated on a panther (Louvre K 240). The tiger, however, as Otto notes, first appears in Latin literature as a companion to Bacchus (1965:112), while in Roman art the tiger is also present: a mosaic (ca. 250 CE) from El Jem in Tunisia depicts the god in a chariot pulled by tigers (Abed 2006:23). For more examples refer to Godwin (1981:138-139) and Dunbabin (1971:52-65).

Hercules and Bacchus were rewarded for their feats with divinity, and although Vergil does not overtly refer to Augustus' apotheosis, it is strongly suggested.[303] Vergil would die in 19 BCE, 33 years before Augustus was officially deified after his own death in 14 CE (Eck 2007:162), but Vergil's friend and contemporary Horace already foresaw the momentous event:

> By such skill, Pollux and wandering Hercules, strove and reached the fiery citadels of heaven, among whom Augustus will recline and drink nectar with his ruddy lips. For that reason, Father Bacchus, your tigers drew you in a well-merited triumph, pulling the yoke with wild necks.
>
> (*Carm*.3.3.9-15)

[303] In addition to expanding Rome's imperium, Augustus will also oversee a return to the Golden Age of Saturn (*Aen*.6.791-794). He also meets the all-important criteria of being *Divi genus* ('Son of the god [Julius Caesar]' (who was deified in 42 BCE), *Aen*.6.792).

4.6 Deer in *Aeneid* 7

The most infamous appearance of the deer in the entire *Aeneid* is the pet stag of Silvia (*Aen*.7.475-502), however, another deer reference in Book 7 is often overlooked. We have already met the snakes of the Fury Allecto that drive the Latin queen Amata into a maenadic frenzy, and now in the following lines we see the manifestation of that frenzy.[304] In her attempt to protect her daughter Lavinia from a Trojan marriage, she takes to the woods, pretending to be overcome by the power of Bacchus (*simulato numine Bacchi*, 7.385), soon, however, what was pretend becomes all too real:

> 'Euhoe, Bacchus, you alone,' frenzied Amata shouted, 'are worthy of the maiden [Lavinia], and for you she takes up the soft-leaved thyrsus; around you she dances, and for you she grows her sacred tresses!' Fama flew swiftly, spreading word of Amata's deed; and the same passion, kindled in their hearts by the furies, at once drove all the mothers of Latium to seek new dwellings: they hurriedly abandoned their homes, tossed their necks and gave their hair to the winds. Others, however, filled the sky with tremulous shrieks, and, girded with fawn-skins, carried spears wrapped round with vine-leaves. In the midst of them stood Amata herself, who in an agitated state held up a burning pine-torch, and sang a wedding song for her daughter and Turnus. As she hurled about a bloodthirsty glare, she suddenly gave a savage shout: 'O, all you mothers of Latium, hear me, wherever you are! If any sympathy for wretched Amata remains in your loving hearts, or if concern for a mother's rights gnaw away at you, loosen the bands of your hair and take up the rites of Bacchus with me!' In this way Allecto drove the queen, pricking her all over with the goad of Bacchus, through the forests and wilderness where wild beasts live.
>
> (*Aen*.7.389-405)

The pretence quickly escalates. Amata's cries (*euhoe Bacche*, *Aen*.7.389), stir up the other Latin mothers, who become infected with her madness (*furiisque accensas pectore matres*, *Aen*.7.392). The mothers flee the city in a frenzy, clothing themselves in skins and arming themselves with vine-clad spears (393-396): in short the mothers behave like real maenads. Although Vergil does not say that the skins are those of fawns, the context establishes the certainty. The fawn-skin can be seen as the uniform for the god's female followers (Horsfall 2000:274), the maenads, as Bacchus himself says:[305]

---

[304] Refer to section 2.6 for the earlier description of Allecto's snakes.

[305] Maxwell-Stuart notes that in a study of maenads depicted on classical Greek vases, 90 out of the 215 women are shown clad in the fawn-skin (1971:437). Dionysus himself was also known to be depicted in art, wearing the fawn-skin. We have an account of a bronze statue by the renowned Athenian sculptor Praxiteles (ca. 364 BCE, Webster 1961:728) which represents the god in a fawn-skin; the account comes

> Dionysus: For, in this land of Hellas, Thebes was the first I roused with my cries, dressing her body in fawn-skin and putting in her hands the thyrsus, a spear wreathed with ivy.
>
> (Euripides *Bacch*.23)

Although the fawn-skin identifies its female wearer as a maenad, why would crazed and frenzied women wear the skin of an animal that is hardly aggressive and symbolic of cowardice?[306] Plutarch records an old superstition that may provide an answer:

> The name deer is derived not from the creature's swiftness, but from its power to attract snakes
>
> (*Moralia* 976d)[307]

Snake-handling was a common feature in the cult of Bacchus (Maxwell-Stuart 1971:438), so by wearing the skins of fawns, the god's female worshippers could assume the deer's snake-attracting properties.[308] Within the context of the *Aeneid*'s passage this is telling, for what started as feigned madness has now tipped over into real maenadic frenzy, with the participants wearing the correct garments of maenads. In her own words Amata reasons that this is pretend, all in an effort to save Lavinia from marrying Aeneas; she even persuades the other mothers to show solidarity with her by taking up the rites of Bacchus (400-403); however, recall that her thoughts were provoked by the maddening snake-breath of Allecto (*Aen*.7.373-377), as mentioned earlier.[309] In light of this observation, the presence of fawn-skins may further suggest that the snakes are still lurking within Amata, and that she is still under the spell of Allecto. The final two lines suggest that this is the case, for Allecto, though not part of the Bacchic revelries, has busied herself guiding Amata's madness with the perfect implement, Bacchus' own goad (404-405).[310] Although the fawn skins are a minor detail they add to the atmosphere of the entire episode, for on the one hand they indicate that the wearers are truly followers of Bacchus and crazed, while at the same time they allude to the snakes of Allecto, the source.

---

from the *Descriptiones* of the sophist Callistratus (3rd or 4th century CE, Berger 1961a:159), who says: 'a fawn-skin clothed the statue, not like the fawn-skin Dionysus usually wore, but the bronze was changed to imitate the skin' (*Desc*.8.4). From the Greek text by Fairbanks (1931).

[306] Maxwell-Stuart asks this same question, however, only within the context of Greek literature (1971:437-439).

[307] From the Greek text edited by Cherness and Helmbold (1957).

[308] Recall Pliny's comments on the effects of burning antlers, see 2.3.1 above.

[309] For this passage refer to section 2.6 above.

[310] When Pentheus orders that troops be sent to attack the maenads, Dionysus, still in disguise warns him not to interfere: 'I would sacrifice to him rather than kick against his goads; a mortal provoking a god's anger' (*Bacch*.794-795). Pentheus ignores the god's warning, and is punished by being torn apart by the maenads, his mother Agave, among them (*Bacch*.1113-1143).

We now come the episode about Silvia's tamed stag which is strategically placed in a central position in the *Aeneid*. The previous six books concentrated on Aeneas and the Trojans' travels, now that he has reached Italy, war predominates and drives the course of the second half of the epic (Otis 1995:313). The death of a stag ignites the war:

> While Turnus was inciting the Rutulians with a war-like spirit, Allecto swiftly carried herself on Stygian wings to the Trojans. Concocting new ploys she glimpsed the spot on the shore where handsome Iulus was pursuing wild beasts with snares in the chase. Then the virgin of Cocytus caused a sudden madness to possess his dogs, bewitching their nostrils with a familiar scent, so that they would ardently chase down a stag; this was the beginning of their suffering, and this incited the spirits of the peasants to war.
>
> (*Aen*.7.475-482)

After kindling Turnus' lust for war with her torch. Allecto moves onto her final victim, Iulus.[311] It is interesting to note that Allecto catches sight of Iulus on the shore (*speculate…litore*, *Aen*.7.477) while he is hunting (*insidiis cursuque feras agitabat*, *Aen*.7.478), for it reminds one of Aeneas' deer hunt in Book 1.[312] Unlike Aeneas, however, Iulus is the unwitting victim of a Fury's new schemes (*arte nova*, *Aen*.7.477). She employs less direct methods and instead targets Iulus' dogs, by causing a sudden madness to overcome them (*subitam canibus rabiem*, *Aen*.7.479). What makes Allecto's trickery even more sinister is that she deceives dogs that are supposedly trained in tracking (*noto…odore*, *Aen*.7.480); even blood-hounds cannot escape Allecto's magic. It would seem that Allecto does not put the dogs on the actual trail of the tame stag but uses her magic to trick the dogs into following an *unreal* scent; therefore in line 483, we find *cervus erat* 'there was *a* stag' not '*the* stag was' (Page 1970:181).

Before reading about the stag and its death, we already know what the outcome is: war and suffering (481-482). This foretaste heightens the tragedy to come. The war that breaks out between the Italians and Trojans dominates the second half of the *Aeneid* (de Villiers 2014:53), but the *casus belli*, the stag's death, has been met with criticism (Putnam 1995a:108). Macrobius for example recognised that Vergil was confronted with a problem over how to begin the war:

> What Homer bestowed upon Vergil is clearly apparent here, because, when he laboured to produce a new story, necessity compelled him to layout the origins of the war, which Homer was not

[311] For Allecto's interaction with Turnus refer to section 2.6.
[312] See section 4.2.

> compelled to do, since he made the wrath of Achilles the subject of his epic, which only took place in the tenth year of the Trojan War.
>
> (*Sat*.5.17.1)

It is reasonable to expect that the war between the Trojans and Italians would have started because of some personal insult, perhaps centring on Lavinia, whom Turnus desired to wed (*Aen*.7.54-57), yet who was promised to Aeneas by her father Latinus (*Aen*.7.267-273).[313] Vergil, however, chooses a rather innocuous event, as Macrobius explains:

> Vergil made the cause of the violent commotion the chance wounding of a stag, but when he saw that this was trivial and excessively frivolous, he exaggerated the anger that the peasants felt over the creature's death so that their attack would provide justification for war.
>
> (*Sat*.5.17.2)

Macrobius' comment reveals that it was not Vergil's innovation that was found wanting but rather that something as serious as a war could have started because a stag was killed. Yet when we consider Vergil's depiction of other deer hunts, his decision makes sense, for Iulus hunts without considering the consequences, much like Aeneas his father:

> There was stag of outstanding beauty with giant antlers, which, taken away from its mother's milk, was raised by the sons of Tyrrhus and by their father, who was the shepherd of the king's flocks and guardian of his extensive lands. Silvia their sister had trained him to obey her commands, and with every care, she adorned his antlers, wreathing them with soft garlands, and she groomed this wild creature and bathed him in pure water. Unafraid of her hands and accustomed to food from his master's table, he wandered in the woods and returned home by himself, however late the night. As he was wandering in the distance the raving dogs of the hunter Iulus startled him, while by chance he was floating down the river and escaping the heat on its grassy banks. Even Ascanius himself, enflamed with passion for high praise, bent his bow and aimed arrows; a god (Allecto) did not fail his unsteady hand, and the arrow, flying with a loud hiss, went through the stag's flank and belly. The wounded four-footed creature retreated to his familiar home and entered moaning into the stalls; bloodied he filled the whole house with his wailing like a person begging for help.
>
> (*Aen*.7.483-502)

We have already come across examples of tame deer in literature such as the white fawn of Sertorius and the deer in the animal park of Hortensius, yet here we have the first example in epic

[313] Recall that the Trojan War began because of Helen's abduction (*Il*.1.160-163), while at the same time Achilles' argument with Agamemnon started when the former was deprived of Briseis (*Il*.1.333-335).

(Putnam 1995a:108). In his description of the stag Vergil, like Homer, mentions its impressive antlers (*cornibus ingens*, *Aen*.7.483)—reminiscent of *cornibus arboreis* of the three stags in *Aen*.1.190—however, the creature's external appearances are secondary. More important is the stag's character and nature, which Vergil has anthropomorphised. Taken from its dam before being weaned (*matris ab ubere raptum*, *Aen*.7.484), the stag is reared by Tyrrhus, his sons and daughter (*nutribant Tyrrhusque pater*, *Aen*.7.485). This previously wild animal now becomes domesticated and part of the human world. Tyrrhus' daughter Silvia appears to be especially fond of the animal and one gets the impression that the stag is devoted to her as well. It responds to her commands (*adsuetum imperiis*, *Aen*.7.487), lets her wreath its antlers (*mollibus intexens ornabat cornua sertis*, *Aen*.7.488) and allows her to groom it (*pectebatque ferum puroque in fonte lavabat*, *Aen*.7.489). These details illustrate to what extent the stag tolerates and even enjoys the attention of Silvia, and furthermore also show how un-wild he has become.

In spite of this, the stag retains some part of its wildness as it still returns to woods, coming and going as it pleases (*errabat silvis rursusque ad limina nota*, *Aen*.7.491). From this description we can gather that this stag exists on a threshold, 'neither entirely domesticated nor entirely wild' (Vance 1981:128). The stag's ambiguous status is what leads to a misunderstanding that results in its death. Pliny recognised that there are some animals which, like Silvia's stag, exist between tame and wild:

> For there are in fact many creatures that are neither tame nor wild, but whose character is half-way between one and the other.
>
> (*Nat*.*Hist*.8.82.220)

The 2nd century CE jurist Gaius provides useful insight as to how the Romans defined wildness and applies this to the status of deer:[314]

> There are some who have deer that have become so tame that they go into the forests and return, yet no one denies that their character is wild. In regard to these animals, which are accustomed by habit to leave and return, however, the following rule has been approved, that they are held to be our property as long as they have the instinct of returning; but if they no longer have the instinct of returning, they cease to belong to us

[314] Not much is known of the life of Gaius, although he was one of the most renowned Roman jurists (Berger 1961b:375). The following passage from the *Digesta* is a quote from the second book of Gaius' *Res cottidianae sive aurea*.

> and are subject to the first taker. Moreover, they are deemed to no longer have the instinct of returning at the time when they have abandoned the habit of returning.
>
> (*Dig*.41.1.5.5)[315]

Gaius' comments reveal that this leaving and returning was the defining behaviour that set wild deer apart from tame ones. Raymond Starr notes that when Vergil describes the stag departing (*errabat*, *Aen*.7.492) and returning (*se…ferebat*, *Aen*.7.492), he uses the imperfect tense to emphasise that this is the animal's habitual behaviour (1992:439). If we apply this principle to Silvia's deer, Iulus would be guilty of damaging another's property, since the animal habitually returned to her and was therefore her property. As Starr points out, when Iulus/Ascanius comes across the stag resting on a riverbank (495), he could not have known that this deer was tame, since he had no knowledge of the animal's past behaviour; that is to say that the stag had *revertendi animum* ('the instinct of returning') (1992:439).

Like his father, Ascanius shoots without considering (*nescius*) the implications; to him the stag is merely for the taking. Ascanius' motives and conduct are not malicious; he simply wishes to win praise as a hunter (*eximiae laudis succensus amore*, *Aen*.7.496), and although his dogs are raving (*rabidae*, *Aen*.7.493), nothing in the text hints that they are not under his control (Vance 1981:128). His desire for praise as a hunter was already expressed in Book 4 when he wished for dangerous prey (*Aen*.4.156-159), and as I mentioned earlier, this type of behaviour was considered appropriate for boys his age.[316] Ascanius' mistake was letting his eagerness for the hunt get the better of him. He foolishly shoots before considering whether this stag is owned or not; a youthful mistake that nonetheless has dire consequences.

When Ascanius aims, his hand is unsteady (*errant*, *Aen*.4.498), probably because of his youth and eagerness. Luckily (or unluckily?) Allecto is there to ensure he does not miss and upset her plans to start a war.[317] Sounds dominate the lines describing the kill: the arrow hisses (*sonitu…venit harundo*, *Aen*.4.499) as it travels, the wounded stag moans (*gemens*, *Aen*.4.501), and its cries sound like a person pleading (*imploranti similis*, *Aen*.4.502).

As with the deer hunt in *Aeneid* 1, here Vergil has manipulated the stag in terms that are uniquely different from Homer (Putnam 1995a:108). He focuses attention on the stag's behaviour, its

[315] From the text edited by Mommsen, Krueger, and Watsons (1985).
[316] For the translation of these lines and hunting's role in the life of boys refer to section 3.5 above.
[317] *Deus* very likely refers to Allecto since it can be applied to female deities when expressing divine power (Horsfall 2000:334). Compare *ducente deo* ('divinely guided', *Aen*.2.632).

coming and going, while at the same time describes the animal's relation to human beings. What emerges is a multifaceted and novel epic image of a deer that is likely due to Roman experiences and opinions. At the same time this deer hunt, like the hunts of Book 1 and 4, underscores that hunters are seldom aware of the consequences of their hunting. Although unintentional, the stag's death has a profound effect on Silvia with whom the epic's readers can sympathise and justly answer her calls to war:

> Immediately their sister Silvia, beating her arms with her hands, called for help and summoned the hardy peasants.
>
> (*Aen*.7.503-504)

4.7 Deer in *Aeneid* 12[318]

The final animal simile in the epic is also the last deer hunt. As in Book 1 and Book 4 Aeneas is again the pursuer, this time however, he is no *nescius pastor* or simply providing for his men. Instead as a determined Umbrian hound he chases Turnus who is likened to a frightened stag that narrowly escapes the gaping jaws:

> He was like a hunting dog that barks and chases down a stag, whenever he comes across one trapped by a river or hemmed in by the fear of the red-feathered cord; the stag, though terrified of the snares and the river's high bank, dashes to and fro in a thousand ways; but the Umbrian hound, full of life, sticks close to him with jaws wide open, and on the verge of grabbing him, he snaps with his teeth as if he already had him, deceived he bites the air.
>
> (*Aen*.12.749-755)

At this point it may be worthwhile to recall the simile at the start of Book 12, where Turnus is described as a wounded Carthaginian lion (*Aen*.12.4-9). This aligns him not only with the Dido-doe simile (*Aen*.4. 68-73), a portent of his own death (*Aen*.12.950-952), but also suggests that his cause is un-Roman, since Carthage was Rome's arch enemy (Galinsky 1968:175).[319] It is also interesting to note that the lion simile alludes to Turnus' symbolic wound, the loss of Camilla whose death robbed him of any chance in winning the war (Fratantuono 2007:368; de Villiers 2013:54).[320]

In the light of this, the frightened stag simile is fitting as it emphasises Turnus' transformation from aggressor (lion) to fugitive (stag, *cervum*, *Aen*.12.750), while the Umbrian hound (*Umber*, *Aen*.12.753) casts Aeneas in the role of pursuer.[321] In contrast to the earlier deer hunts where Aeneas hunts out of opportunity (*Aen*.1.180-194) and is ignorant of the consequences (*Aen*.4.68-73), here the hunting dog is determined (*venator cursu canis et latratibus instat*, *Aen*.12.751) and wants to make the kill (*haeret hians*, *Aen*.12.754). The stag, however, escapes, thus frustrating the dog (*increpuit malis morsuque elusus inani est*, *Aen*.12.755). This is perhaps because Aeneas is still feeling the effects of the arrow wounded he received earlier (*tardata sagitta*, *Aen*.12.746).

The Turnus-stag simile is modelled on a similar one in the *Iliad* describing Achilles chasing Hector:

---

[318] For the discussion of the deer reference in *Aen*.10.725 refer to section 3.10.
[319] Refer to section 3.11 for the discussion of the lion simile.
[320] Turnus suffers further symbolic wounds: his sword is destroyed (*perfidus ensis / frangitur*, 12.731-732).
[321] This is the second occasion in which Aeneas is compared to an animal; earlier in the book he and Turnus are likened to bulls butting heads (*Aen*.12.715-724).

> But swift Achilles hotly pursued Hector, driving him in confusion; as when on the mountains a dog startles the fawn of a deer from his lair and chases him through the mountain glens and ravines; though the fawn may try to escape by crouching under a thicket, yet the dog does track him down, running on and on until he finds him; just so did Hector not escape the swift-footed son of Peleus.
>
> (*Il*.22.188-193)

Like Aeneas, Achilles as a hunting dog chases a fawn. However, here the fawn does not escape, a detail foreshadowing Hector's death (*Il*.22.361-363), yet which is absent in Vergil's simile. The absence of this detail becomes more conspicuous when we consider Aeneas' previous deer hunts that resulted in death and wounds, or the death of Silvia's tame stag by Ascanius, whose dogs hardly bite empty air. In fact the bloodied mouth of the Carthaginian lion (*ore cruento*, *Aen*.12.8) is a more potent image of Turnus's coming death. Taking this into account the simile of the frightened stag appears more likely to allude to Turnus' reversal of fortune—a Trojan victory is now inevitable.

On the other hand, the hunting dog represents a regression for Aeneas since in previous deer hunts, he was a hunter or shepherd, now he is a predator (de Villiers 2013:56). This has important significance since Viola Stephens argues that within the *Aeneid*, allusion to predatory animals emphasises the uncontrolled passions—*furor*—of the human characters to which they are related (1990:107, 117). This is certainly true in some instances[322], yet I would question whether the Umbrian hound is a real predator for the dog is not described in terms that resemble other predatory canines. For example, the hound's jaws are gaping (*haeret hians*, *Aen*.12.754) but they are not the *siccae sanguine fauces* ('blood parched jaws', *Aen*.9.64) like those of wolves. The Umbrian is lively (*vividus*, *Aen*.12.753), perhaps desiring to please its master whose presence is suggested by the trap (*puniceae…pinnae*, *Aen*.12.750); this is in contrast to wolves that are driven by hunger (*collecta fatigat edendi*, *Aen*.9.63 and *improba ventris / exegit*, *Aen*.2.356-357) and whose nature is fierce (*asper*, *Aen*.9.62), wicked (*improbus*, *Aen*.9.62) and predatory (*raptores*, *Aen*.2.356).

If we look at references to the Umbrian dog in other Latin literature, the un-predatory nature of Vergil's Umbrian becomes even more apparent. The Roman agriculturist Varro records an anecdote that illustrates the qualities of Umbrian dogs:

[322] Turnus compared to a wolf prowling a sheepfold (*Aen*.9.59-66); Nisus likened to a lion (*Aen*.9.339-341); Turnus kills Lycus like an eagle snatching a rabbit or swan (*Aen*.9.563-564); Turnus enclosed in the camp is like a tiger among sheep (*Aen*.9.728-730).

> Publius Aufidius Pontianus of Amiternum[323] had bought flocks of sheep in furthest Umbria,[324] included with the flocks were dogs but not shepherds. He appointed shepherds to take the sheep to the pastures of Metapontum[325] and the market of Heraclea.[326] After the shepherds had taken the sheep there, they returned home; after a few days, however, the dogs, missing their human companions obtained food from the countryside and returned to the shepherds in Umbria of their own accord although it was a journey of many days.[327]
>
> (*De Re Rust*.2.9.6)

Varro's account is enlightening as from it we can gather something about the breed's temperament. The above passage suggests that the Umbrian is well suited as a sheep dog hence it came as part of the purchase. In addition the dogs appear to be very loyal to and in fact dependant on the shepherds, which illustrates the extent of their domesticity as opposed to their supposed predatory status. In the *Cynegetica* of Grattius, the clearest indication of this comes to light:[328]

> But the same Umbrian dog which has discovered enemies, flees when facing them. If only his faithfulness and expertness in smell, could match his courage and determination in war!
>
> (*Cyn*.171-173)[329]

Gratius confirms the dog's devotion, while adding that it has a good nose[330], however, he says that the Umbrian lacks courage, which implies that this breed is ill-suited as a hunting dog; this contradicts what Vergil says, *haeret hians* ('sticking close with gaping jaws', *Aen*.12.754). Grattius in fact advises a range of other breeds that would be more suitable. The Molossian, for example is brave and impetuous (*Cyn*.179-181), and was bred as a guard dog (Kitchell 2014:50); or the Laconian (*Cyn*.211-212), which was the preeminent hunting dog in antiquity (Kitchell 2014:53).[331]

---

[323] Originally a Sabine city located near modern L'Aquila (Anthon 1872:156).
[324] Guy Bradley notes that the region of Umbria specialised in sheep rearing on account of its large tracks of pasture (2000:50).
[325] Founded as a Greek colony on the gulf of Tarentum, the city declined in stature and by the time of Pausanias (*Grae*.*Desc*.6.19.11) it was only ruins (Anthon 1872:839).
[326] Heraclea was founded in 432 BCE by colonists from Tarentum (Strabo, *Geo*.6.1.14; Diodorus Siculus, *Bil*.*Hist*.12.36.4).
[327] This is a considerable distance: Heraclea (modern Policoro) is 429 km from Spoletium (Spoleto) in Umbria.
[328] An Augustan poet contemporary with Ovid (63 BCE – 14 CE) (Duff 1961b:395). His only extant poem the *Cynegetica* deals with hunting and includes a great deal of information about various breed of dogs (*Cyn*.190-206).
[329] From the Latin text of Duff and Duff (1934).
[330] Compare Silius Italicus *Umber nare sagax* ('Umbrian keen of nose', *Pun*.3.294). From Duff's text (1934).
[331] The Molossian is frequently mentioned by ancient authors: Aristophanes (*Thesm*.416); Vergil (*Georg*.3.405); Horace (*Epod*.6.5). The Laconian is prominent in Xenophon who remarks that there are two

In the light of Varro and Grattius' insight, Vergil's choice of Umbrian appears odd. He knew of the Molossian and Laconian breeds, describing them in his *Georgics* as *velocis Spartae catulos arcemque Molossum* ('the pups of the swift Laconians and fierce Molossians', *Geor*.3.405). This revelation is telling since it implies that in spite of the simile's hunting context, Vergil deliberately chose to compare Aeneas to a breed not well suited to hunting. This raises questions about Aeneas succumbing to *furor*. The Umbrian was noted for its loyalty, which neatly aligns with *pius* Aeneas.[332] Therefore I would argue that the Umbrian hound is not representative of Aeneas' uncontrolled passion, but rather a symbol that his determination to kill Turnus is just. Vergil's choice of breed was also very likely motived by the Umbrian's Italian origin. The Molossian and Laconian breeds are both Greek dogs, the Umbrian, however, is undeniably Italian and a perfect counterpart to *pater* Aeneas through whom Trojan and Italian will become Latin (*Aen*.12.834-840).[333] The two animals of this final animal simile in the epic are potent symbolic markers. The stag is emblematic of Turnus' lost cause: the war has now turned against him and, although as a Rutulian he is Italian-born, his pursuer is also Italian-born, an Umbrian hound. The breed's origin reinforces Aeneas' ties to Italy while its loyalty stresses the Roman-ness and rightness of his cause.

kinds, the Castorian and Vulpine (*Cyn*.3.1-11), and both make excellent hunters. For other references to the Laconian see: Sophocles (*Aj*.8); Vergil (*Georg*.3.405); Horace (*Epod*.6.5); Ovid (*Metam*.3.208, 223).

[332] See note 239 above.

[333] For the discussion on this passage and Roman-ness in general refer to chapter 1, section 1.6.

4.8 Conclusion

Vergil's handling of deer in the *Aeneid* shows a clear Roman influence. For although Homer and Pindar both employed deer, to them the creature simply served as symbol for speed or cowardice. Vergil, on the other hand, shows a more developed picture of the animal. In *Aeneid* 1 (*Aen*.1.180-194) for example we glimpse deer in a natural setting that live in a community. Their peaceful existence is interrupted when Aeneas kills their three chiefs, causing the herd to scatter in fear. In focusing on the hunt from the deer's perspective, Vergil creates sympathy for the animals while at the same time shows the disastrous effects of hunting, which the hunter does not consider. The wounded-doe simile of Book 4 (*Aen*.4.68-73) also illustrates this, for the shepherd is *nescius* and does not consider the consequences of his actions. Vergil's sympathy for the deer was not the poet's only innovation for he also included folklore, such as references to the healing herb dittany (*Aen*.4.73). His retelling of Ganymede's abduction (*Aen*.5.250-257) also illustrates innovation as deer were never part of the myth before Vergil included them.

Of all the *Aeneid*'s deer the tame stag of Silvia is the most creative and dramatic (*Aen*.7.745-482). The tame stag reminds one of the historical white fawn of Sertonius, also a pet (Plutarch *Sert*.11.3), and Vergil may have been influenced by it or by other accounts of pet deer among the Romans. When Silivia' stag dies the description is harrowing, it enters its stable moaning and bloodied (*successitque gemens stabulis questuque cruentus*, *Aen*.7. 501). The animal's presence in the arena may have influenced Vergil's own description; not only in its vividness but also in the sympathy attached to the animal's demise, which some of the arena's crowd, such as Martial (*De Spect*.33), must have also felt. Our sympathy for the tame stag reaches a crescendo when in a simile the creature is likened to a person begging for mercy (*imploranti similis*, *Aen*.7.502). This simile is unique for the animal is the tenor while the vehicle is human. This deviation illustrates the prominent place of the stag in the entire passage. The stag is not simply part of the scenery but as much a human character as Ascanius or Silvia. And like other human characters the stag's death does not go unnoticed or unmourned.

When we encounter the very last deer to be mentioned in the epic we see a scene reminiscent of an actual deer hunt, like the one Xenophon describes (*Cyne*.9.6-7; 18). Vergil it would seem has paid careful attention to accuracy, which heightens the realism of the simile. The addition of the Umbrian dog, which is unusual since the breed was not noted for its hunting capabilities, adds a symbolic layer to the entire episode, for the dog was never meant to catch the stag. The frightened stag, which for now escapes the dog's gaping jaws, symbolises Turnus' lost cause: his death is

now inevitable (*Aen*.12.950). The Umbrian, in contrast, reinforces the rightness of Aeneas' undertaking and his ties to Italy.

Recurring deer imagery therefore serve a myriad of purposes in the epic. As objects of the hunt, they embody the dangers of recklessness and over-eagerness. Perhaps the deer's most dramatic usage in the *Aeneid* is to illustrate how easily war can break out over a trivial incident.

Chapter 5: The Wolf

5.1 Greek and Roman Ideas about the Wolf

Wolves, like deer, were a species that was well-known to both ancient Greeks and Romans. The typical city-dweller likely had little first-hand experience of the animal, but farmers and shepherds, it is safe to say, would have had frequent encounters with the animal (Kitchell 2014:199-200). The grey wolf (*Canis lupus*), the largest species of wolves, was a serious threat, as it caused significant damage to livestock and was sufficiently large enough to harm or even kill people (Marvin 2012:15; 35-36).[334] The danger wolves posed to sheep was already recognised by Homer, who in the *Iliad* uses their proverbial hostility to express the impossibility of establishing a parley between Achilles and Hector:

> Then swift-footed Achilles glared at him and spoke: 'Hector, you wretch, speak not to me of oaths. As there are no sure oaths between lions and men, nor are wolves and lambs of one mind but share continual hatred for each other, just so is it with you and me; friendship between us is impossible.
>
> (*Il*.22.260-265)

Earlier in the *Iliad* we learn why sheep have good reason to hate wolves as Homer explains in a simile:

> As ravenous wolves attack lambs or kids, selecting them from out of the flocks, when through the carelessness of the shepherd they are scattered on the mountains. Seeing this, the wolves quickly seize the young whose hearts are fearful, and tear them to pieces; just so did the Danaans attack the Trojans.
>
> (*Il*.16.352-356)

The simile captures not only the economic disaster a pack of wolves posed to an ancient shepherd—since the loss of lambs would rob him of his livelihood—but also illustrates how the Greeks perceived the animal: ravenous (σίνται, 353) and ruthless (διαρπάζουσιν, 355). Throughout the *Iliad*, the wolf is ascribed negative traits such as carnivorous (ὠμοφάγοι, *Il*.16.157), bloodthirsty (πᾶσιν δὲ παρήϊον αἵματι φοινόν, *Il*.16.159) and governed by rage (οἳ δὲ λύκοι ὣς / θῦνον, *Il*.11.72-73). To this we should also add deception. Although Homer does not

[334] *Canis lupus* is still found in the mountainous regions of present-day Greece and Italy (Boitani, Phillips and Jhala 2018:2-4).

explicitly associate the wolf with stealth, the fact that Dolon dresses in wolf's skin to infiltrate the Greek camp at night hints at it: 'at once Dolon threw a curved bow over his shoulders, and put on the skin of a grey wolf' (*Il*.10.333-334).[335]

When we turn to the wolf in Aristotle, we discover that his observations about the animal's character resonates with what we see in Homer.[336] For example in Book 1 of the *Historia Animalium*, Aristotle characterises the wolf as inherently wild:

> Moreover, there are tame animals and wild animals: some, such as man and the mule, are always tame; others, such as the leopard and the wolf, remain always wild.
>
> (*Hist*. *Anim*.1.1.488a28)

He also notes that the animal is characterised as devious, saying: 'and other [wild beasts] are wild and treacherous like the wolf' (*Hist*. *Anim*.1.1.488a19).

From Homer and Aristotle we can gather that the wolf did not enjoy a warm reception among the Greeks largely on account of the animal's predation of flocks and its stealth. Among the Romans the wolf was viewed with equal suspicion as Varro's comments reveal:

> For dogs are the guardians of the flock, which needs such a companion for its defence. In this class sheep are the most important followed by goats. The wolf is always trying to catch these, and we set dogs against him to protect them.
>
> *(De Re Rust*.2.9.1)

The tone of Varro's passage suggests that the average Roman reader was well acquainted with the wolf's habitual killing of livestock, and with the sheepdog's role in keeping the predator at bay. Columella, on the other hand, reveals something sinister about the wolf when he advises that a dog, charged with protecting cattle, should be strong and swift: 'since he must keep away the wolf's tricks' (*De Rust*.7.12.9). The Romans, like their Greek counterparts, saw the wolf as a threat to husbandry, and as a result, perceived the animal in terms of savagery, rage and bloodthirstiness (Toynbee 1973:101; Foss 2012:116). Therefore it comes as no surprise that

---

[335] Compare Dolon from Euripides' *Rhesus*: 'I shall wrap a wolf's hide around my back and put the beast's gaping jaws over my head; fitting its forelegs to my hands and its hindlegs to my legs, I shall imitate the four-footed gait of a wolf, hard for enemies to spot, as I near their trenches and ships' defences' (*Rhes*.208-213).
For an artistic representation of Dolon in a wolf's hide on all fours, see a 5th century BCE Attic red-figure lekythos (Louvre CA 1802).

[336] Aristotle also includes a great deal of factual knowledge about the wolf: the bony tissue of the membrum virile (*Hist*.*Anim*.2.1), its cubs are born blind (*Hist*.*Anim*.6.35), and a solitary wolf is prone to attack a man (*Hist*.*Anim*.8.5.594a3031), a view no longer held to be true.

wolves were occasionally hunted. Wolf hunts are sometimes the subject of vase paintings, such as a hydria from Caere which illustrates a she-wolf protecting her pups from hunters (Marcinkowski 2001:14), while in his comment on Vergil *Georg*.1.139, Servius mentions: 'it is a well-known fact that wolf-hunters kill wolves with flesh dipped in poison' (*Comm*.*Verg*.*Georg*.1.139).[337] It must be noted that wolf hunting, unlike boar or deer hunting, was not motived by pleasure. Wolves were hunted for the protection of livestock, or for a practical purpose, such as the use of their skins (Rissanen 2014a:135).[338]

Returning to the wolf's character, deception was perhaps the trait which best typified the animal, as Plutarch explains:[339]

> There are many examples of craftiness, but I shall omit those of foxes and wolves and the tricks of cranes and jackdaws, for they are self-evident.
>
> (*Moral.*971a-971b)

The deception and trickery associated with the wolf became entrenched in society, and thus gave birth to the 'Big Bad Wolf' of Aesop's fables. The earliest extant collection of Greek fables are those complied in the 2nd century CE by the enigmatic Babrius (Edwards 1961b:129). In the fable, *the wolf and the lamb*, we see a wolf attempting to use arguments to justify killing a lamb. The lamb, however, refutes all of the wolf's accusations, but in the end the savage predator triumphs:

> Once upon a time a wolf saw a lamb that had wandered away from his flock. The wolf, however, did not rush upon the lamb and snatch him violently, but rather sought a justifiable complaint for his hatred. 'Last year, when you were small, you bad-mouthed me,' the wolf said. In response the lamb said, 'How could I have insulted you last year? I was not then born.' 'Well then,' said the wolf, 'are you not grazing in this field which belongs to me?' 'I have not eaten any grass nor have I even started to graze,' replied the lamb. Next the wolf said, 'Have you not been drinking from the stream which I drink from?' 'Up to now,' the lamb explained, 'my mother's milk is drink to me.' Then the

[337] Refer to section 3.1 for Theophrastus' comment on wolf's bane.
[338] The majority of literary references to the wearing of wolf skins are found in epic (see Dolon above), however, there are a few references to real instances: the Greek historian Polybius (208 – 125 BCE) notes that the light-armed soldiers, *velites*, sometimes wore wolf skin over their helmets (*Hist*.6.22.3), while Pausanias says that Arcadian mountaineers wore wolf skins for protection (*Desc*.*Graec*. 4.11.3).
[339] Compare Xenophon who adivises a military commander to copy a wolf's cunning when engaging enemy forces: 'It is possible for him who pays attention to acquire knowledge of this, since even wild animals, which are less intelligent than man, like hawks, are able to snatch whatever may be left unguarded and retreat to safety before being caught; and wolves prey on anything that is left unprotected and steal things in hard-to-see places' (*Hipparch*.4.18-19). From Marchant's Greek text (1946).

> wolf snatched the lamb and munched, saying, 'You will not make this wolf go without his supper, even if you have easily refuted every one of my allegations.'
>
> (*Barbius* 89 = Perry 155)[340]

This fable presents us with stereotypes; the wolf is predatory and lies, while the lamb is innocent and tells the truth. The fable's message reinforces the image of the bad wolf, for we can only conclude that words and just arguments have no power over those who have already decided to do wrong.

This inclination to wrongdoing is highlighted in the literary sources we have looked at thus far: the wolf had been received negatively in antiquity; a view that still predominates today.[341] However, when we examine the wolf's place in religion, mythology and superstition, a more complex understanding of the animal emerges.

The most notable example that challenges this negative perception of the wolf is the animal's association with Apollo, the god of music, prophecy and healing. Homer already identified Apollo with the wolf when he calls the god Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκηγενέϊ ('wolf-born Apollo') on two occasions in the *Iliad*. [342] Homer offers no explanation for this epithet. Aristotle, however, does. In a passage in which he refutes the erroneous notion that she-wolves bear their young during twelve days of the year, we find a mythological explanation for 'wolf-born Apollo':

> One account that is told concerning the parturition of the she-wolf borders on the incredulous; for they say that each she-wolf bears her young in twelve days of the year. The reason for this they explain in a myth, namely that Leto was brought in so many days from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delos, and that she assumed the appearance of a she-wolf for fear of Hera. Whether this is or is not the period of parturition has not yet been established, but is merely hearsay. It does not appear to be true, nor the account which claims that wolves only bear young once in their life.
>
> (*Hist*. *Anim*.6.35.580a15-20)[343]

---

[340] From the Greek text of Perry (1989).
[341] Refer to pages 35-80 of Garry Marvin's *Wolf* (2012) for an in-depth discussion of the wolf's reception in human society from antiquity to contemporary times.
[342] *Il*.4.101 and 119. For the debate surrounding the interpretation of this epithet refer, to Kirk's commentary on the *Iliad* (1985:340), and Graf's more recent *Apollo* (2009:105-106), who convincingly argues in favour of 'wolf-born.'
[343] The 3rd century CE Roman author Aelian notes this legend as well: 'It is also said that Apollo takes delight in the wolf, and the reason which is widespread has also reached me. They say that Apollo was born after Leto had transformed her appearance into that of a she-wolf. For this reason Homer calls the god 'the wolf-born, renowned in the bow' [*Il*.4.101]. This, as I have learnt, is why a bronze statue of a wolf

Aristotle's comment reveals that Apollo's fondness for the creature is thanks to his mother's transformation into a she-wolf; this indicates that, at least to some extent, the wolf was not universally viewed in a negative light among the Greeks. The role of the she-wolf as nurturer and substitute mother features prominently in Roman mythology and in the *Aeneid*, but more will be said of this later. Closely aligned with the epithet 'wolf-born' is Ἀπόλλων Λύκιος ('Apollo the wolf').[344] The cult of Apollo the wolf is attested to in many places across the Greek world, yet among the cities of Sicyon[345] and Argos it was especially popular (Graf 2009:97). The temple of Apollo Lykios in Argos was built next to the agora[346] and Pausanias tells us: 'the most renowned building in the city of Argos is the temple of Apollo the wolf' (*Grae.Desc*.2.19.3).[347] According to the Argives, the temple was built by Danaus, who after returning from Egypt desired to be king of Argos. Gelanor, however, was already king, so the Argives asked for a day to think over Danaus' request:

> At the dawning of day a wolf fell upon a herd of cattle that was grazing before the city-wall. He attacked and fought against the bull that was leader of the cattle. It dawned on the Argives that Gelanor was like the bull and Danaus like the wolf, for just as this beast does not live among men, so Danaus had not lived among them till that day. Since the wolf overpowered the bull, Danaus, therefore, gained the kingdom. So he established a temple of Apollo the wolf, because he believed that Apollo had set the wolf on the herd of cattle.
>
> (*Grae.Desc*.2.19.4)

The Argive myth strikes us as unusual, since the earlier descriptions of wolves preying upon livestock have concentrated on maligning the animal and evoking pathos for its victims. Pausanias' narration of the myth on the other hand suggests that the act of lupine predation was not necessarily always ominous. In the realm of prophecy it can be a good omen; a theme which Pliny also picks up.[348]

---

is dedicated at Delphi, in memory of Leto's birth-pangs' (*De Nat.Anim.*10.26). From the Greek text of Scholfield (1959).

[344] Other scholars, notably Hrozný and Wilamowitz, argued that Lykios originated from Lycia in southern Anatolia (Graf 2009:109). The strength of this argument is bolstered by Apollo's Lycian connection, which Homer already made. The god's mother, Leto also had a major shrine in Xanthus in Lycia (Graf 2009:99). Subsequent Lycian inscriptions discovered in Xanthus, however, have cast doubt on the Lycian origin; see Graf 2009:107-109.

[345] Pausanias (*Desc.Graec*.2.9.7).

[346] Thucydides (*Hist*.5.47.11) and Sophocles (*Elec*.6-7).

[347] Compare Thucydides (*HIst*.5.47.11) and Sophocles (*Elec*.6-7) who both mention this temple.

[348] See Pliny's comments (*Nat.Hist*.8.34.83-84) below.

In addition to mythological ties between Apollo and wolves, there were religious ones as well, for wolves were sacrificed to the god at both Sicyon and Argos (Farnell 2010:iv115). Argos adopted the wolf as its mascot as is evident from numerous coins dating from the 5th to 3rd century BCE bearing the city's initial Α along with a depiction of a wolf's head (Sear 1978:249; 259-260). Apollo's twin sister Artemis, was also associated with the wolf. At Troezen in the Peloponnese she was worshiped under the title λυκεία ('She-wolf') (Farnell 2010:ii24), while at Patrae wolves and wolf-cubs were sacrificed to Artemis Laphria during a festival:[349]

> For they throw living creatures onto the altar such as edible birds and every conceivable type of animal; there are wild boars, deer and roe-deer. Some people even bring wolf-cubs and bear-cubs, while others bring the full-grown beasts.
>
> (*Grae*.*Desc*.7.18.12)

This sacrifice is highly unusual as the victims were hurled alive into the fire instead of being ritually killed before hand (Pirenne-Delforge 2006: 126).[350] The reason for this is unclear as Pausanias, our only source, does not provide a reason (Pirenne-Delforge 2006: 117).[351] The choice of victims, however, is fitting since being the goddess of the hunt, wolves, wild boars and deer would surely be pleasing to Artemis.[352] In spite of the wolf's nobler associations with Apollo and Artemis, the perceived greed and rapacity of the animal proved too overwhelming and led the ancient Greeks to believe that men could actually become wolves. Lycanthropy is well attested in Greek literary sources; Herodotus, however, is the earliest. In a passage dealing with the Neuri, a tribe living in the extreme North, he records what local Scythians and Greeks say about these people:

> For it is said by the Scythians and by the Greeks, who have settled in Scythia, that, once in the year, all of the Neuri become wolves for a few days and afterwards return to their former selves. Those who tell this tale do not persuade me, but they repeat it nonetheless and swear to its veracity when telling it.
>
> (*Hist*.4.105.2)

---

[349] Lewis Farnell suggests that Λαφρία could possibly mean 'the devourer' which in the context of the live sacrifices is fitting (2010:ii24).
[350] See Pausanias' comments on the sacrifices at Messene (*Desc*.*Graec*. 4.31.9) and Plataia (*Desc*. *Graec*. 9.3.7-8) where the victims were ritually killed before being burnt.
[351] For a detailed analysis on the Laphria, refer to the chapter by Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge in *Ritual and Communication in the Graeco-Roman World* (2006:111-129), who argues that the ritual at Patrae was influenced by Roman animal fights since the city was settled by veterans of Actium.
[352] Lewis Farnell notes that in certain parts of Greece domestic animals were taboo to Artemis and not sacrificed (2010:ii23). See Cicero's comment: 'among some people there was a law that no one should sacrifice a calf to Diana' (*De Invent*.2.95). From Stroebel' Latin text (1915).

Herodotus is dismissive of the legend, nonetheless the local Scythians and Greeks swore to its veracity.[353] Although Herodotus had reservations, the belief appears to have enjoyed a long popularity, as the Claudian geographer Pomponius Mela (ca. 43 CE, Warmington 1961:715) mentions it in his *De Chorographia*:[354]

> There is a fixed time for each Neuri, during which they change, if they so desire, into wolves, and return again to their human form.
>
> (*De Chorog.*2.1.2.14-15)[355]

A possible explanation for this miraculous metamorphosis may be that the Neuri were reputed to be magicians (γόητες, *Hist*.4.105.1). The fact that they dwelt so far north, near Hyperborea, might also have reinforced their perceived magical powers as Leto changed into a she-wolf on leaving Hyperborea to escape Hera (see Aristotle's comment above).[356] Pliny shares Herodotus' scepticism about the reality of werewolves (*Nat*.*Hist*.34.80-84), yet about the wolf itself he offers very little factual information. This deliberate disinterest may suggest that the Romans were well acquainted with the wolf.[357] Nonetheless, in Pliny we find numerous examples of lupine folklore. Unsurprisingly some of them reinforce the perception of the dangerous wolf.

> But in Italy it is also believed that the glance of wolves is harmful, and that it takes the voice from any man whom they first see at once.
>
> (*Nat*.*Hist*.8.34.80)

The origin of this belief is obscure, Plato is the first to allude to it in the *Republic* when Socrates, bullied by Thrasymachus, complains:

> And when I heard him I was astounded, and looking at him I was seized with fear, and I think that if I had not looked at him before he looked at me, I would have lost my voice.
>
> (*Rep*.336d)[358]

---

[353] The werewolf also appears closer to home. Pausanias records that according to legend the Arcadian king Lycaon sacrificed an infant to Zeus, and poured the blood on the altar at which point he became a wolf (*Grae*.*Desc*.8.2.3). See Plato's comments *Rep*.8.565d on the legend.
[354] For further literary references to werewolves see; Lycophron *Alex*.478-750; Vergil *Ecl.*8.95-99; Ovid *Metam*.1.163-250; Petronius *Satyr*.61-62.
[355] From the Latin text of Ranstrand (1971).
[356] For a detailed analysis on the werewolf's connection with the Neuri refer to Montague Summers (2003:149-150).
[357] Recall Plutarch's comments (*Moral.*971a-971b); see above.
[358] From the Greek text edited by Shorey (1937-1942).

Subsequent authors such as Theocritus (*Id*.14.22-26) and Vergil (*Ecl*.9.53-54) reiterated the belief, but it may be much older.[359] In contrast, other pieces of folklore suggest that the wolf was not always viewed as a menace. For example in the 28th Book of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* he presents numerous medicinal uses for various parts of the animal: wolf's liver could be used as a cure for coughing, tuberculosis and female ailments.[360] In addition to these folk-remedies, we should also add the magical value attributed to the wolf. The fat of wolves could ward off evil as Pliny describes:

> Masurius says that the ancients valued the fat of wolves most of all; and that for this reason new brides were accustomed to anoint the doorposts with it lest evil spells might enter.[361]
>
> (*Nat*.*Hist*.28.37.142)

In the case of teething, a wolf's tooth or skin could alleviate the infant's pain:

> A wolf's tooth, fastened to the body, protects infants from terrors and from sickness associated with teething; the skin of a wolf is also an excellent remedy for this.
>
> (*Nat*.*Hist*.28.78.257)

These two passage illustrate the concept of homeopathic magic, that is, like cures like (Frazer 1922:31). The ideas was that since the wolf was a fearsome creature, applying parts of its body to doorposts or infants would in turn empower them with the animal's quality. However doubtful the efficacy, examples of teething charms made from a wolf's tooth have been discovered, suggesting that some believed the claims. [362]

In the realm of religion the wolf also had a part. Whereas the Greeks associated the wolf with Apollo and Artemis, to the Romans the wolf was *victor Martius lupus*:[363]

> While the two sides were standing ready for battle, there came a hind, fleeing a wolf that had driven it from the mountains, and it ran over the field into the middle of the two lines. Then the beasts went different ways, the hind to the Gauls, and the wolf changed course to the Romans. Way was given to the wolf between the ranks; the Gauls skewered the hind. On seeing this, a Roman soldier from the front rank said: 'There where you see the sacred creature of Diana lying, is flight and carnage;

[359] Alexandra Pappas suggests that a red-figure kylix painted by Onesimosin the early 5th century BCE hints at the existence of this superstition (2008:100-105).
[360] Pliny *Nat*.*Hist*.28.53.193; 28.67.230; 28.77.247.
[361] Masurius Sabinus was a jurist who lived during the reign of Tiberius.
[362] One example (A33500) is on display at the London Science Museum.
[363] See Livy's comment about a statue of Mars with wolves that stood on the Appian (*Ab Urb.Cond.*22.1.12). The statue likely dates from about 240 BCE, while Mars' association with the wolf is considerably older (Tennant 1988:89).

> here the victorious wolf of Mars, whole and uninjured, reminds us of our founder and also that we are sons of Mars.'
>
> (*Ab Urb.Cond*.10.27.8-9)

This omen took place before the battle of Sentinum (295 BCE) which proved to be a decisive Roman victory (Dumézil 1966:193-194). The worship of Mars among the Romans was ancient and widespread (Tennant 1988:87). Originally Mars was a god of agriculture, charged with protecting herds, flocks and shepherds as is evident from a prayer preserved by Cato the Elder (234 - 149 BCE): 'Father Mars, keep safe my shepherds and cattle, and grant me, my house and my family, good health and strength' (*De Agric*.141).[364] As the Roman state grew, Mars increasingly came to be identified with the well-being of the nation, and consequently with war (Tennant 1988:89). Mars' dual aspects, as god of agriculture and warfare, make it easy to see why the wolf was regarded as his sacred animal: protection from predatory wolves on the one hand, while in warfare bloodthirsty like the creature. The wolf's appearance on the battlefield was not the only situation in which it could serve as a good omen, as Pliny explains:

> The wolf when hungry feeds upon the earth and this is considered an augury; if the wolf intercepts the path of passers-by on their right, and having done so with its mouth full of earth, there is no omen more auspicious than this.
>
> (*Nat.Hist*.8.34.83-84)

Omens of this type were called *ex quadrupedibus*, and were interpreted as favourable if the animal exhibited strange behaviour and appeared to the right of the observer (Wagener 1912:53).[365] These passage illustrate that the Romans had a complex attitude to the wolf. On the one hand it was a wild creature that plagued shepherds, yet its body parts provided magical protection and its appearance could be auspicious. Towering over all of this, however, was the nurturing she-wolf that was instrumental in the creation of their civilisation. In fact it would seem that the Romans afforded the wolf a special place. Christopher Epplett (2001a:336), followed by Mika Rissanen (2014a:141-143), notes that wolves were not exhibited in animal *spectacula* at Rome, even though the animal was numerous in Italy.[366] The wolf's 'wary nature' may explain why it was unsuitable for the arena (Rissanen 2014a:142), yet other wary animals such as deer appeared in

[364] From the Latin text of Goetz (1922).
[365] Festus remarks: 'Auspices, which are given by a fox, wolf, snake, horse or other four-footed animals, are called omens of the road' (Paul. Fest. 244M = 287L). From the Latin text of Lindsay (1913).
[366] Refer to accounts on the *ventationes*, where the wolf is conspicuously absent: Cicero *ad Fam*.7.1.3 and 8.8.10; Livy *Ab Urb.Cond*.39.22; Suetonius *Tit*.7 and *Jul*.39.

venationes, so this seems an unlikely explanation for the lack of wolves. A more likely reason was that the slaughter of wolves in the arena itself was discouraged (Epplett 2001a:336; Rissanen 2014a:143), because of the creature's religious importance.

The relationship between Rome's founders and the she-wolf was firmly established in the 3rd century BCE, as is evident from literary sources (Cornell 1975:7; Wiseman 1995:76).[367] The image of the she-wolf, however, was already present in Italy long before (Rissanen 2014b:336). A funerary stele (ca. 5th century) from the Etruscan city, Felsina (Bologna), depicts a she-wolf suckling a single child (Tennant 1988:81; Wiseman 1995:65). Bologna's remoteness from Rome and the depiction of a single child, make it improbable that the legend of Romulus and Remus had any connection with the stele (Tennant 1988:82). The fact that this scene is depicted on a funerary stele suggests that the child represents the deceased. In this context the presence of the she-wolf can be explained by the animal's association with Atia, the Etruscan god of the dead, who himself is often shown wearing a wolf's head (Hollemann 1985:609). Another Italian tribe, the Hirpini, an off-shoot of the Sabines, viewed the wolf as part of their origin myth (Tennant 1988:82; Rissanen 2012:123). The Hirpini, took their name from the Sabine word for wolf, *hirpus*, and lived among the Apennine Mountains as Strabo says: 'they took their name from the wolf that lead them to where they founded a settlement' (*Geogr.*5.4.12).

Although the wolf's role in Italian mythology and religion was widespread, the first undisputable reference to a she-wolf in the Romulus and Remus myth was made in 296 BCE (*Ab Urb.Cond*.10.23.12). This raises a question over the antiquity of the whole founding myth. It may simply be that the myth was already present in oral tradition before it appeared in literary form (Tennant 1995:66). The most compelling evidence in favour of this comes from a bronze mirror made ca. 340 BCE at Praeneste. The mirror is decorated with a pastoral scene that depicts a wolf suckling two infants (Tennant 1995:65-66; Wiseman 1995:67-69). The identity of the twins has caused much speculation amongst scholars, with some favouring that it depicts the scene of Romulus and Remus suckled by the she-wolf at the *Lupercal* (Tennant 1995:67), while others suggest that the two infants may represent the *Lares Praestites* ('Stand-by Lares', protectors of the state) (Wiseman 1995:71). I favour interpreting the mirror as depicting the Roman founders, since the infants are shown lying underneath the wolf on a rocky outcrop with a tree behind; these

[367] Livy tells us that in 296 BCE the brothers Gnaeus and Quintus Ogulnius, who were both curule aediles, used confiscated funds to put up: 'statues of the infant founders of the city beneath the teats of the she-wolf' (*Ab Urb.Cond*.10.23.12).
Ennius also references the Roman she-wolf saying: 'suddenly [there was] a she-wolf with young' (*Ann*.1.71).

elements resemble the *Lupercal* cave and the *Ficus Ruminalis*, which feature prominently in accounts of the myth.[368] Although it is debatable when the twins and she-wolf became Rome's founding myth, what cannot be denied is the prominence that the myth held in Rome. The festival of the Lupercalia illustrates this best.

The Lupercalia was one of the most enduring Roman festivals. Its origins were obscure even to Romans of the late Republic, yet it lasted until 494 CE, when Pope Gelasius I suppressed it (Scullard 1981:76).[369] The working of its ritual is known, but the significance of the ritual was debated by ancient authors and continues today. The priests who conducted the ritual were known as the *Luperci*. They were divided into two colleges, the *Quinctiales* and *Fabiani*, which, according to tradition, Romulus and Remus founded respectively.[370] Every year on the 15th of February, the *Luperci* met at the *Lupercal*, situated at the foot of the Palatine. The ritual began with the sacrifice of goats and a dog (Plutarch *Rom*.21.4-5). The foreheads of two noble youths were then smeared with a blood-stained knife by the *Luperci* (*Rom*.21.4). After this the blood was wiped away with wool dipped in milk; at this point the youths had to laugh (*Rom*.21.4-5). The *Luperci* then cut the skin of the sacrificed goats into strips and ran about naked, except for a belt, striking any bystanders, but especially young married women, who hoped that the blows would promote fertility (*Rom*.21.4-5).

The Romans themselves did not agree on the purpose of this ritual.[371] The most likely explanation was that it was a rite of purification combined with fertility. Equally confusing is the name of the deity which the Lupercalia was dedicated to. According to Ovid it was Faunus, *deum pecoris* ('god of cattle', *Fast*.2.271), but Livy says that the god was named Inuus (*Ab Urb.Cond*.1.5.3).[372] Both authors, however, agree that Faunus/Inuus was identified with Pan. The worship of Pan on the Palatine was supposedly introduced by Evander, who brought the god from Mt Lycaeus in Arcadia, before the time of Romulus and Remus.[373] The mountain's name, Λυκαῖον, in Latin Lycaeus, according to Vergil (*Aen*.8.343-344), Ovid (*Fast*.2.423-424) and Plutarch (*Rom*.21.3),

[368] See Ovid *Fast*.2.411-422 and Livy *Ab Urb.Cond*.1.4.1-7.
[369] When Cicero discusses the *Luperci*, he says: 'the brotherhood of the Luperci is a wild, entirely pastoral and rustic sort of sodality, whose woodland pack was established long before civilisation and law' (*Pro Cael*.26). From the Latin edidition by Clark and Peterson (1901-1911).
[370] Ovid narrates the legend of how the *Fabiani* and *Quinctiales* came to be associated with Romulus and Remus (*Fast*.2.361-382). Propertius also refers to the *Fabiani* (*Eleg*.4.1.26).
[371] Varro, Ovid and Plutarch support that it was a purification ritual: *L.L*.6.13, 6.34; *Fast*.2.19-34, 5.101-102; *Rom*.21.3. The fertility aspects are mentioned by Ovid and Plutarch as well: *Fast*.2.425-430; *Rom*.21.5.
[372] Plutarch does not make specific reference to any particular god, but he does mention that Romulus prayed to Faunus (*Rom*.21.7).
[373] Vergil *Aen*.8.343-344; Ovid *Fast*.2.271-280; Livy *Ab Urb.Cond.*1.5.1-3; Plutarch *Rom*.21.3.

gave the *Lupercal* its name.[374] The cult of Pan in Arcadia and the name of the mountain, suggest that wolves featured in the Lupercalia. Aelian tells us that Pan's sanctuary on Mt Lycaeus provided safety for any animal that fled there and that: 'wolves which chase them are afraid to enter and are repulsed by merely looking at the sanctuary' (*De Nat.Anim*.11.6). On the other hand the very name of Mt Lycaeus (Λυκαῖον ὄρος) is derived from λύκος, 'wolf' (Borgeaud 1988:198n6). Thus when Arcadian Pan's cult came to Rome, it was already charged with wolfish connotations, a fact that did not escape the notice of Roman authors.

Parts of the Lupercalia ritual were also reinterpreted to align with the story of the twins. The two noble youths were identified with Romulus and Remus, and events from their lives. Plutarch tells us that the blood on the youths' foreheads was…φόνου καὶ κινδύνου σύμβολον ('a symbol of the slaughter and danger', *Rom*.21.6) that the twins endured when they killed Amulius. The milk on the other hand was viewed as …ὑπόμνημα τῆς τροφῆς ('a reminder of the nourishment', *Rom*.21.6) which the infants received from the she-wolf. The sacrifice of a dog, which Plutarch says is a purification ritual, like the Greek practice of περισκυλακισμός[375], could also, he adds, be explained because a dog λύκοις…ἐστι πολέμιος ('is an enemy to wolves', *Rom*.21.8). The Lupercalia began as a purification and fertility ritual, and although these aspects never disappeared from the festival, the tale of the she-wolf suckling the twins was grafted onto it (Wiseman 1995:87). The likely reason for this was that the image of the she-wolf with the twins came to represent the Romans as a nation. Although it was not the only symbol—the goddess Roma or the eagle—it frequently appeared on coins and on the standards of legions (Rissanen 2014b:336-337).[376] In the Augustan age the she-wolf of legend became a symbol of Rome's progress, from her humble origins to world empire.[377] At the same time the she-wolf symbolised also abundance, heralding the return of *aurea aetas* 'a Golden Age' as Propertius says:

> She-wolf of Mars, best of nurses for our state, what walls have sprung from your milk!
>
> (*Eleg*.4.1.55-56)

[374] Hollemann suggests that an Etruscan origin based on the un-Latin *p* in *luperci*. He argues that the name comes from the Etruscan word *lupu* ('to be dead') (1985:609). This etymological conjecture is fitting since the Lupercalia fell during the Parentalia when the dead were appeased and purification was necessary (Scullard 1981:78).
[375] A purifying ritual in which a puppy was sacrificed and carried about (Liddell Scott and Jones 1996:1386).
[376] Raffaele D'Amato notes that during the early imperial period numerous legions used the she-wolf alone or with the twins on their flags: *Legio II Italica*, *Legio VI Ferrata* and *Legio XI Claudia* (2018:27-27).
[377] The myth of Rome's founding did not escape the notice of Augustus, who included it as part of his official rebuilding programme: 'I built the Lupercal' (*Res Gest*.19).

5.2 Wolves in *Aeneid* 1

After deer, wolves are the second species of animal to appear in the *Aeneid*. This should come as no surprise since, as we have seen, the wolf was an animal that enjoyed a certain reverence among the Romans. Thus the first of the *Aeneid*'s wolves is not a symbol of violence but rather a symbol of Rome herself:

> Then Romulus, happy in a tawny skin of the she-wolf who suckled him, will receive his people. He will build the walls of Mars and call his people Romans, after his own name.
>
> (*Aen*.1.275-277)

The reference to the she-wolf is seemingly conventional save for *laetus* (*Aen*.1.275): are we to imagine that Romulus killed his lupine nurse and now happily wears her pelt? Servius' comments on this passage are enlightening:

> That is the skin of the she-wolf, which he [Romulus] wore after the fashion of shepherds. But many find fault with this point, why would he have used the skin of his nurse? They are refuted in two ways: either by the falsehood of the story, or by the example of Jupiter, who wore the skin of his nurse the she-goat.
>
> (*Comm.Verg.Aen*.1.275)

The suitability of the wolf-skin is unquestioned, for Romulus and Remus were not unfamiliar with the pastoral life[378], yet as Servius observes, some thought it inconceivable that Romulus would kill and wear the *pelle* of his nurse. The killing raises a moral dilemma to which there are two solutions: the tale is either a lie or Romulus copied Jupiter's example with the she-goat Amalthea.[379] Robert Conway notes that Vergil would not have intended his readers to think that Romulus killed the she-wolf, but rather after her natural death to have worn it; after all 'to whom else should she bequeath it?' (1935:64). I would argue that by wearing the skin, Romulus was expressing his fondness for his lupine foster mother much like Jupiter did with the skin of Amalthea; the latter myth likely inspired Vergil's creation.

The placement of the she-wolf near the beginning of the *Aeneid* proclaims the epic's subject to its audience: the origins of their city. Its placement in Jupiter's speech proclaims that Rome's past and present are divinely guided. In this speech, prompted by Venus' worries over her son

[378] See Livy *Ab Urb.Cond*.1.4.8.
[379] In some accounts Amalthea was the name of the nymph whose goat nursed the infant Zeus on Crete (Eratosthenes *Cata*.13; Hyginus *De Astro*.2.13; Ovid *Fast*.5.115). In other versions of the myth Almathea refers to the she-goat herself (Callimachus *Hymn* 1.47-48; Strabo *Geog*.8.7.5; Apollodorus *Bibl*.1.1.7).

(*Aen*.1.229-253), Jupiter foretells Aeneas' future and the future of his descendants: Aeneas will defeat the Rutulians and reign in Latium (*Aen*.1.261-266), Ascanius, now surnamed Iulus, will establish Alba Longa (*Aen*.1.267-271), from where Ilia will conceive Romulus and Remus by Mars (*Aen*.1.272-274). The end of Jupiter's speech brings the foretelling of the future down to Vergil's contemporary Rome: 'there shall spring forth a Trojan Caesar from noble lineage, whose dominion the sea bounds and whose fame the stars circumscribe; Julius, the name inherited from the great Iulus' (*Aen*.1.286-288).

The she-wolf episode masterfully weaves Rome's mythic past with her present. It illustrates to contemporary readers the humble origins of their city while at the same time proclaims that Rome's greatness was ordained by Jupiter. Another symbol that permeates Jupiter's speech is that of the mother. The first mother we come across is Venus, whose motherly concern for Aeneas lead to the entire revelation.[380] Later we here of the priestess Ilia, also known as Rhea Silvia, who gave birth to the twins. She, however, was imprisoned by Amulius, who ordered the boys to be killed.[381] Pity was shown to the infants who were set adrift on the Tiber, where bereft of their human mother, a she-wolf served as foster mother. The she-wolf, it seems, acted against her instincts as Pliny observes:

> For concerning what has been said about exposed infants that have been nourished by the milk of wild animals, as in the case of our founders by a wolf, I think that it has more to do with the greatness of the destinies which have to be fulfilled, than the character of the wild animals themselves.
>
> *(Nat.Hist.8.22.61)*

According to Pliny it was not the she-wolf's motherly instincts that prompted her, but rather the importance of the twins. This aberration suggests that the she-wolf somehow recognised the significance of the twins and behaved against her natural instincts; perhaps this implies that wolves were thought to be capable of thought, at least under unusual circumstances. Jupiter's speech includes references to three mothers that all played a vital role in the founding of the City. This appears to suggest that Rome' fathers, *pater Mars* and *pater Aeneas*, were only partly instrumental, since without motherly concern and nourishment there would be no Rome.

---

[380] Venus as mother of Aeneas was also seen as mother of his descendants as Lucretius says in the opening lines of the *De Rerum Natura*: 'kind Venus, mother of Aeneas' sons, delight of gods and men' (1-2).
The Julian family claimed Venus as ancestress via descent from her grandson Iulus/Ascanius. After Pharsalus, Julius Caesar vowed a temple to Venus Victrix, but eventually dedicated it to Venus Genetrix in 46 BCE (Kousser 2010:290).

[381] Refer to Livy for details about the tale of Ilia (*Ab Urb.Cond*.1.4.2).

5.3 Wolves in *Aeneid* 2

The wolf next appears in Book 2 during Aeneas' recollection of the fall of Troy at the banquet of Dido. Aeneas tells how he and a troop of Trojan warriors fought like wolves:

> Thus [Aeneas] roused the young warriors' hearts to fury: then, like ravening wolves in a dark mist, when cruel hunger in an empty belly drives them blindly on, leave behind their pups, waiting with thirsty throats, through spears and enemies we advanced to certain death, and kept our course through the centre of the city; dark night flew overhead with enveloping shadows.
>
> (*Aen*.2.355-360)

The significance of this simile cannot be underestimated for Vergil has Aeneas associate himself and his warriors with wolves (Fratantuono 2018:109). Aeneas takes an active part in the events; he rouses his followers and likens them, himself included, to hungry wolves. The comparison seems unflattering, as some commentators note, because the wolves are *raptores* ('plunderers') and although their hunger is termed 'cruel', *improba* also infers 'shameless' or 'violent' (Lewis and Short 1980:908).[382] Commentators have also noted that Aeneas' decision to fight contradicts Hector's instructions to flee (*Aen*.2.289-295), which endangers lives and the future of Troy (Horsfall 2008:294). The context of the simile, however, suggest that the wolves' actions, and by implication Aeneas', are not all together blameworthy. The wolves' are driven to *rabies* (*Aen*.2.357) out of their own hunger and the hunger of their own pups. Are we to condemn wolves for wanting to find food for themselves and their young? Recall the maternal she-wolf of Book 1. It is surely no mistake that we should find Romulus and Remus' ancestors likened to wolves caring for pups. Within the context fury (*furor*) and madness (*rabies*) seem not to arise from bloodlust or violence, but rather desperation (Horsfall 1995:113). When we compare this simile to a similar one from Homer, Vergil's more sympathetic rendering becomes clear.

In Book 16, Achilles dispatches his Myrmidons to assist Patroclus in the defence of the ships:

> But Achilles went up and down the huts and got all the Myrmidons under arms, and they rushed forward like carnivorous wolves whose hearts are filled with unspeakable might; wolves that have brought down a great horned stag in the mountains and ripped him apart, staining their jaws red with blood.
>
> (*Il*.16.155-159)

[382] Fratantuono is harsh in his criticism saying the comparison is 'not to Aeneas' credit' (2018:109). See Stephens' comments as well (1990:114).

These wolves are 'flesh eaters' (ὠμοφάγοι, *Il*.16.158), echoing Vergil's *raptores*, however, the differences are striking. Homer's wolves are not hungry nor do they have starving pups. They hardly act out of desperation; they are emboldened with 'unspeakable might' (ἄσπετος ἀλκή, *Il*.16.158). More revealing still, Homer's wolves make a kill, ripping a stag to pieces, before devouring it and bloodying their jaws. The wolves in *Aeneid* 2 fail to make a kill. Vergil, it seems, has deliberately softened the negative implication in his rendering of the simile, which suggests that, like the wolves, Aeneas and the Trojans' actions are not entirely blameworthy.[383] Another aspect of the wolf simile in *Aeneid* 2 which bears closer inspection is the question of their status; they are parents. This reminds us of Romulus and Remus' foster parent, the she-wolf. The myth of Rome's founders may have influenced Vergil to render the simile in the way that he did, for the pups (*catulique*, *Aen*.2.357) foreshadow the famous twins nursed by the *lupa*.

[383] In later wolf similes, as will be discussed below, Vergil does not attempt to diminish blame: *Aen*.9.59; 9.566 and *Aen*.11.811. In these similes there are no hungry pups, and the wolves do not fail in killing.

5.4 Wolves in *Aeneid* 3

At Buthrotum, Helenus warns Aeneas to avoid Scylla; wolves form part of the zoological conglomeration of her body:

> Her upper half, as far as her loins, has the appearance of a girl with beautiful breasts, but her lower body is a monstrous sea-creature, comprised of dolphins' tails joined to the belly of wolves. It is better that you travel slower by sailing around the promontory of Pachynus, taking the longer route around Sicily, than ever you catch sight of hideous Scylla in her deep cave, where rocks echo with the bark of her sea-blue dogs.
>
> (*Aen*.3.426-432).

Scylla already appears in the *Odyssey* where she is described as possessing the voice of a puppy and having a dozen feet and six necks, each with its own head (*Ody*.12.85-100). She dwells in a cave where she: 'fishes, eagerly gazing about the cliff for dolphins and dog-fish' (*Ody*.12.95-96). Homer's Scylla is purely a monster born of the sea goddess Crataeis (*Ody*.12.124). Later authors, such as Ovid, depict Scylla as a beautiful maiden transformed into a monster by Circe, whom Glaucus appealed to for help in winning Scylla's affection (*Metam*.13.898-14.74). In the *Aeneid* we find a transformed Scylla. Her upper body retains her human beauty, while her lower part is a jumble of all sorts of creatures: 'shark/saw-fish or whale' (*pristix*, *Aen*.3.427), 'dolphins' (*delphinium*, *Aen*.3.428), 'wolves' (*luporum*, *Aen*.3.428), and 'dogs' (*canibus*, *Aen*.3.432). That sea-creatures form part of Scylla's body is not strange for at *Ody*.12.95-96 she fishes for dolphins and dog-fish, yet the presence of dogs and wolves is puzzling.

Homer's Scylla yelps like a puppy (σκύλακος νεογιλῆς, *Ody*.12.86), and like dog-Helen it is an unflattering application, for it denotes lasciviousness and audacity (Kitchell 2004:178).[384] The latter applies to Scylla for Vergil calls her *virgo* (*Aen*.3.426), a word which downplays sexual voracity. The line *utero luporum* (*Aen*.3.428), on the other hand strongly hints at greed and rapaciousness. The application of wolves to Scylla appears to be a Vergilian invention (Horsfall 2006:381; Fratantuono 2018:109). In doing so Vergil added to Scylla's already monstrous appearance and fearsome nature, gluttony; Aeneas luckily heeds Helenus' words and sails past Scylla, Odysseus, however falls victim to Scylla's gluttony and loses six men: 'but in the meantime Scylla snatched six of my companions from out the hollow ship, who were the bravest and ablest'

[384] See the introduction 1.14.

(*Ody*.12.245-246). Here, much like the Furies' snakes, the wolves function as props adding not only to Scylla's physical monstrosity but also her rapacious nature.

5.5 Wolves in *Aeneid* 7[385]

We proceed to Caeculus, the son of Vulcan, founder of Praeneste and the ally of Turnus (*Aen*.7.678-681). The soldiers that accompany him are lightly armoured and wear wolf-skin caps:

> To protect their heads, they wore tawny fur caps made of wolf-skin, and as was their habit, they planted the bare soles of their left feet as they marched, while rawhide boots covered their right feet.
>
> (*Aen*.7.685-690)

The name Caeculus is likely of Etruscan origin and cognates of the name have been discovered at Praeneste (Horsfall 2000:442). Lupine imagery in the form of a mirror showing a she-wolf suckling twins has also been discovered at Praeneste (Tennant 1995:65-66; Wiseman 1995:67-69).[386] Thus it should come as no surprise that Vergil depicts Ceaculus' men as wearing wolf skinned caps, for he was aware of the wolf's importance in other Italian cultures. The choice of *galeros* (*Aen*.7.685) also betrays the poet's attention to detail for the *galerus* unlike the *galea* ('helmet') was not a military accoutrement but rather an antique canonical hat worn by farmers (Horsfall 2000:449), and thus appropriate for the epic's setting.[387]

As with the earlier character Aventinus, the wolf-skin caps worn by Caeculus' men communicate the idea of Roman-ness.[388] Evidence that the Roman *lupa* was in the poet's mind can be found in the adjective *fulvos* (*Aen*.7.688), which evokes the tawny skin of happy Romulus in Book 1.275-277. The connection between the skin caps and Romulus' skin, illustrates that through symbolic references Vergil articulated a shared heritage and mythology for all of Italy.

[385] Circe's transformation of men into wolves has already been addressed in section 3.7 above.
[386] Refer to section 5.1 above.
[387] Statius tells us that the ancient Arcadians wore *galeri* (*Theb*.4.303; 7.39), while Suetonius records that Nero wore a *galerus* as a disguise in one of his nocturnal rambles (*Nero*.26.1). What is clear is that the *galerus* was not every day head gear but antiquarian.
[388] For the section on Aventinus refer to 2.6 above.

5.6 Wolves in *Aeneid* 8

From Vulcan's son, Caeculus and his wolf-capped men, we proceed to the god's engraving of the she-wolf on the shield of Aeneas:

> He [Vulcan] also depicted the she-wolf which, after having given birth, had laid down in the green cave of Mars with the twin boys playing around her swollen teats, suckling their nurse without any fear. With her smooth neck turned backwards she caressed each in turn with her tongue and licked their bodies into shape.
>
> (*Aen*.8.630-634)

The she-wolf is *feta* (*Aen*.8.630) which denotes not only 'recently whelped' but also 'fertile' (Lewis and Short 1980:744). Both senses are present here since according to the myth the she-wolf had given birth and was brimming with milk.[389] She lies down at the green cave of Mars (*viridi…Mavortis in antro*, *Aen*.8.630), which evokes the Lupercalia as well as suggests the god's involvement; they are his sons after all. The twins show no sign of fear (*impavidos*, *Aen*.8.633), sporting around her teats (*ludere*, *Aen*.8.632). The intimacy between the twins and she-wolf is emphasised. This scene's companion piece at *Aen*.1.275-277 describes the she-wolf as 'nurse' (*nutricis*), here it is literally mother (*matrem*, *Aen*.8.632). The she-wolf seems receptive to this name, for she licks the boys into shape (*corpora fingere lingua*, *Aen*.8.634) as she would her own pups.[390] She moulds them, preparing them to build Rome (*nec procul hinc Romam*, *Aen*.8.635).

The significance of the she-wolf scene becomes apparent when examining the shield's final scene which depicts the triumph of Augustus and Rome's universal empire (*Aen*.8.678-728). No scene in between describes the actual founding of the city, thus it seems that Rome's existence and contemporary empire are as a direct result of the fertile and mothering she-wolf (Hardie 1986:350). In doing so Vergil invites a comparison between the twins and Augustus, for as they

[389] The Augustan historian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*fl*.30 – 7 BCE), says of the she-wolf: 'a she-wolf that had just given birth appeared, and her udder being swollen with milk, she gave her teats to their mouths' (*Rom*.*Ant*.1.79.6). From the text of Cary (1960).

[390] The she-bear was known to do this in antiquity. The 2nd century grammarian Aulus Gellius records that Vergil himself declared: 'They relate that he was accustomed to say that he produced verses in the manner and custom of a bear. For as that beast gave birth to her young shapeless and misshapen, and by licking it after she had birthed it, she formed and shaped it, just so the new offspring of his mind were rude in shape and unfinished, but afterwards by working and polishing them he gave them distinct features and expression' (*Noct*.*Att*.17.10.3). 'From Rolfe's Latin text (1961).
Pliny also notes that she-bears lick their cubs in to shape (*Nat*.*Hist*.8.54.126), he narrates that lionesses and foxes also exhibit the same behaviour (*Nat*.*Hist*.10.83.176).

played around her pendulous udder (*ubera circum / ludere pendentis*, 631-632), so his Rome will also know abundance:

> He himself, seated at the snow-white threshold of bright Phoebus, reviewed the spoils of the nations and fastened them to the proud door-posts.
>
> (*Aen*.8.720-722)

5.7 Wolves in *Aeneid* 9

In Book 9, Turnus moves his forces to the Trojan camp and the Trojans, mindful of Aeneas' warning not to engage, prepare the defences (*Aen*.9.25-58). At this point Turnus' calls them out to battle by hurling a spear and rages like a hungry wolf around a sheep-fold:

> As when a wolf lying in wait by a full sheepfold howls next to the enclosure and braves the wind and pouring rain at midnight; the lambs keep bleating, safe beneath their mothers. He, fierce and remorseless in his anger, rages against his prey which he cannot reach, for the fury of his hunger long-drawn out, and his blood-parched jaws spur him on; just so did anger take fire within the Rutulian as he gazed on their walls and camp, and resentment burned in his hard bones.
>
> (*Aen*.9.59-66)

Vergil's characterisation of the wolf in this simile suggests cunning. The creature chooses a fold crammed with sheep (*pleno*, *Aen*.9.59) and waits before striking (*insidiatus*, *Aen*.9.59). The wolf is frustrated. It cannot breach the enclosure and reach the lambs to satisfy its hunger (*edendi*, *Aen*.9.63). In spite of this, the wolf is clearly determined since it endures wind and rain (*ventos perpessus et imbris*, *Aen*.9.60). The wolf's frustration and determination stresses Turnus' own feelings. He can only gaze at the Trojan walls (*muros et castra tuenti*, *Aen*.9.65) which makes his thwarting all the more frustrating (*duris dolor ossibus ardet*, *Aen*.9.66).

This characterisation of the wolf suits the epic's context of Turnus' attempts to breach the Trojan walls, but the fact that this wolf is frustrated and is a lone predator is of particular interest. In Homer the wolf is not denied the kill and hunts as part of a pack.[391] For example in a lupine simile at *Iliad* 16, Homer likens the Greeks to a pack of wolves falling upon the Trojans:

> As ravenous wolves attack lambs or kids, selecting them from out of the flocks, when through the carelessness of the shepherd they are scattered on the mountains. Seeing this, the wolves quickly seize the young whose hearts are fearful and tear them to pieces; just so the Danaans attacked the Trojans.
>
> (*Il*.16.350-356)

These wolves are opportunistic, spotting unguarded lambs or kids wandering the mountains. They do not have to brave wind or rain, nor is there an enclosure preventing their attack. They hunt as a group and are successful, unlike the lone wolf of Vergil. Homer, it seems, perceived the wolf as

[391] See *Iliad* 11.72-73; 13.99-104; 16.160-161. Vergil employs the lone wolf on three occasions: twice with Turnus and once with Arruns, who skulks away like a wolf after killing Camilla (*Aen*.11.811).

a pack animal as did Xenophon, who comments that wolves: 'arrange themselves so that some drive away the guard, while the others plunder, and in this way they procure nourishment' (*Hipparch*.4.19). Of Greek authors, Aristotle alone notes that lone wolves may prey on humans: 'solitary wolves are more likely to prey on man than wolves hunting in a pack' (*Hist.Anim*.8.5.594a30).

Vergil, it seems, drew on other inspirations when he likened Turnus to a lone wolf. Garry Marvin notes that wolves can live and hunt alone but it is not their preferred condition (2012:23). Lone wolves lack the protection of the pack and have greater difficulty in finding food. With this in mind we can see how masterfully Vergil has innovated the wolf-Turnus simile. The poet stresses the frustration and difficulties that the lone wolf-Turnus faces. The effect of this is that Turnus is characterised as determined and frustrated. These two qualities make him a dangerous foe.

Like the wolves of Book 2, this wolf is also spurred on by hunger and also fails to make a kill. I would argue, however, that unlike the earlier wolves this wolf (Turnus) is blameworthy. For one, the mood of the simile is more visceral: blood-parched jaws (*siccae sanguine fauces*, *Aen*.9.64) and bones burning with anger (*duris dolor ossibus ardet*, *Aen*.9.66). Although the lambs are safe within their fold, these images leave no doubt as to what could have happened. In the next wolf simile, the lamb is not so lucky:

> As when Jupiter's armour-bearer [his eagle] soaring high in the sky has carried off a hare, or a snow-white swan in his hooked talons, or when Mars' wolf has snatched from the pens a lamb which its mother seeks with endless bleating.
>
> (*Aen*.9.563-566)

In this simile Jupiter's eagle or Mars' wolf describe the way in which Turnus snatches Lycus. As with the previous lambs, here we also hear bleating (*balatibus*, *Aen*.9.565), but it's the ewe's bleating as she searches for her stolen offspring. The image of the ewe reminds of the she-wolf (*Aen*.1.275-277) and the wolves with pups (*Aen*.2.355-360), yet here the wolf is not cast a in a maternal or nurturing role but that of predator. The lamb's dam is no match and all she can muster is insipid bleating. It is not only Mars' wolf, but Jupiter's eagle to which Turnus is compared. The god's eagle, as we saw when it captured Ganymede (section 4.4), is swift and resolute, which suits Turnus' character perfectly; in Book 12, however, this simile has important implications in an eagle omen but more will be said about this later.[392]

[392] See section 6.2.3 below.

Another important point in this simile is the name Lycus, which Fratantuono points out means ‘wolf’ (2018:113). Ironic, since in the simile he is the hare, swan and lamb while Turnus is the wolf. Not just any wolf, but Mars’ wolf. Why would Vergil align Turnus with the god’s wolf, which is surely a reference to the she-wolf? The fact that Aeneas and the Trojans are compared to wolves in *Aeneid* 2 must also be significant. The lupine references are intertwined, however, the defining characteristic is that Turnus is a solitary wolf. Unlike the wolves of Book 2 he does not kill to feed hungry pups, nor does he have to care for human infants (*Aen*.1.275-277 and *Aen*.8.630-634). It would seem that the lone wolf is unredeemable and fated like the bloodthirsty lion to die (*Aen*.9.789-798).

5.8 Wolves in *Aeneid* 11

We come to the final appearances of the wolf in the *Aeneid*; both involve Camilla, the Volscian heroine and ally of Turnus. She confronts Ornytus, a warrior garbed in a wolf's head:

> Ornytus, a hunter, equipped with unusual arms, was riding his Iapygian horse; a hide, stripped from a fighting bullock, covered his broad shoulders, and the gaping mouth and jaws of a wolf, grinning with white teeth, protected his head, and a rustic hunting spear armed his hand. He moved through the midst of the troops, and as he did so he loomed a head above all of them. Camilla caught him—for it was easy when his band routed—and pierced him, and as she stood over him, she spoke these words: 'Etruscan, did you think you were hunting wild beasts in the forests? Ah, the day has come for a woman's arms to refute you and your companions boasts. Yet you will carry no mean fame to the spirits of your fathers, for you have the honour of dying by Camilla's spear.'
>
> (*Aen*.11.677-689)

Ornytus is a hunter (*venator*, *Aen*.11.678) and an Etruscan (*Tyrrhene*, *Aen*.11.686). We have already seen that the wolf played a leading role in Etruscan mythology, while we should also recall the lupine helmets of Caeculus and his Etruscans (*Aen*.7.685-690). The fact that Ornytus is a hunter also makes the nature of his armour apt, since 'the trophies of the chase furnish his armour' (Page 1970:399). The words *armis / ignotis* ('unusual arms', *Aen*.11.677-678) alludes not the strangeness of his armour but rather to the fact that Ornytus was not known in battle, as explained by Servius' *novis*, *inconsuetis* ('new, unaccustomed', *Comm.Verg.Aen*.11.678); this is the point of Camilla's taunt 'do you think you are hunting wild beasts in the forest?' (*silvis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti*, *Aen*.11.686). Ornytus' lack of battle-experience foreshadows his death. From the beginning this fight was not between equals.

In spite of Ornytus' military inexperience, he is an excellent hunter as the many trophies he wears testifies. The hide which covers his shoulders comes from a fighting bullock (*iuvenco / pugnatori*, *Aen*.11.679-680), which suggests that it was a wild bull (Page 1970:400). He wears the gaping jaws of a wolf to protect his head (*caput ingens oris hiatus / et malae texere lupi*, *Aen*.11.680-681). The wolf's head becomes a helmet, and the jaws, which still retain the glistening teeth, form the visor.[393] The gaping jaws and grinning teeth surely serve to inspire fear in Ornytus' opponents

[393] At *Aen*.7.667 Vergil has Aventinus wear a lion's head as helmet also with white teeth (see section 2.6).

but as Camilla makes clear, he is woefully mistaken if he thinks she will be frightened; this is not another hunt.[394]

Camilla's victory over the wolfish Ornytus is given an ironic twist in her death at the hands of the Etruscan Arruns, who, after killing her, is explicitly likened to a wolf:

> And as a wolf that, before the hostile weapons can pursue him, when he has killed a shepherd or a large bullock, immediately hides himself deep in the mountain wilderness. Conscious of his audacious deed, he droops his quivering tail drawing it under his belly, and makes for the forest. So did Arruns in confusion steal himself away from their eyes, and eagerly hoping to escape, he hid himself among the battle throng.
>
> (*Aen*.11.809-815)

For the *Aeneid*'s final wolf reference, Camilla is now the shepherd (*pastore*, *Aen*.11.811) or bullock (*iuvenco*, *Aen*.11.811), and Arruns a wolf. But a wolf with its tail between its legs (*caudamque remulcens / subiecit…utero*, *Aen*.11.812-813), that in a frightened state (*pavitantem*, *Aen*.11.813) makes for the forest (*silvasque petivit*, *Aen*.11.813) to escape the hostile weapons (*tela inimica*, *Aen*.11.809) of its pursuers. In spite of the wolf's/Arruns' attempt to avoid punishment for killing Camila, Opis, Diana's nymph avenges the death of the goddess' favourite (*Aen*.11.836-867). The Arruns simile owes much to *Iliad* 15.586-588, where Nestor's son, Antilochus, after slaying Melanippus runs away from Hector and the Trojans:

> And Antilochus did not wait, swift warrior though he was, but fled like a wild beast that has committed some evil; one that killed a dog or cowherd next to his oxen, and flees before a crowd of men assemble.'
>
> (*Il*.15.585-588)

The most striking difference is that Vergil replaces the Homeric dog (κύνα, *Il*.15.587) with bullock (*iuvenco*, *Aen*.11.811), this emphasises the pastoral setting of Vergil's simile, while at the same time recalls Ornytus, whose death foreshadowed Camilla's own. We should also consider that in the simile Arruns is a lone wolf. All previous references to lone wolves foreshadow or end in death. The two wolf similes of Book 9, like the lion simile at *Aen*.9.789-798, foreshadow the death of Turnus at the epic's end. The same holds for Arruns. Vergil, it appears, uses the lone wolf as a symbol foreshadowing the death of the person compared. It is only when the wolf is part of a pack,

[394] Vergil may have been thinking of the words of Euripides' *Hercules*. The chorus of Thebes describes the hero's first labour, the killing of the Nemean lion: 'first he rid the grove of Zeus of a lion, and, setting its skin on his back, he covered his golden hair in the beast's tawny, fearful, gaping jaws' (*Her*.359-363).

cares for pups or protects Rome's founders that the creature can foreshadow nobler and happier outcomes.

5.9 Conclusion

Vergil's epic wolf departs from its Homeric counterpart. In Homer the wolf hunts in a pack and causes destruction to livestock and game. In Vergil the destructive element is confined to a lone wolf, or if a pack of wolves, then they hunt to feed hungry pups (*Aen*.2.355-360). The lone wolf in the *Aeneid* appears to be a Vergilian innovation since it is absent in Homer. This suggests that Vergil had access to information about the nature and habits of wolves, perhaps first-hand knowledge from Roman farmers. Vergil's characterisation of the lone wolf hints at this distinct possibility: the wolf lies in wait (*lupus insidiatus*, *Aen*.9.59), attacks under the cover of darkness (*nocte super media*, *Aen*.9.61), and does not carelessly throw its life away (*continuo in montis sese avius abdidit altos*, *Aen*.11.810). This adds to a more nuanced representation of the wolf; it is no mindless killer, it shows cunning and prudence.

The most dramatic lupine innovation in the *Aeneid*, however, is the image of the motherly she-wolf. The first mention of the animal in the epic—unsurprisingly—is this very image. Romulus, happy in the tawny pelt of his nurse, will receive his people and build the walls of Mars. This is Jupiter's prophecy of Rome's future. His words console Venus of her worries about Aeneas and the Trojans, while at the same time remind contemporary readers that in spite of their humble origins, Rome's success is divinely inspired. The inverse of the maternal she-wolf is the lone wolf: it is cunning, determined and dangerous. To characters like Turnus and Arruns, the lone wolf is not a happy simile, for not only does it brand them as outcasts, but it also foreshadows their doom. It seems that in the *Aeneid* whether a wolf is good or evil depends on whether it is part of a pack or solitary, or whether it hunts to feed pups. This duel function of wolf imagery is a prime example of the complexity that animal imagery adds to the epic's interpretation and also illustrates Vergil's artistic genius.

The wolf can also be monstrous. It can form part of a zoological mishmash that is Scylla's body. The appearance of wolf skin helmets at *Aen*.7.685-690 adds a touch of authenticity. Caeculus is both an Etruscan and founder of Praeneste, and as we have seen, the Etruscans revered the wolf and Praeneste has yielded lupine artefacts. Similarly, Ornytus is both hunter and Etruscan, thus the wolf-head he wears as helmet is doubly suitable. When Camilla kills Ornytus, he is avenged by another Etruscan, Arruns, who is compared to a wolf.

What is the point of Vergil's references to non-Roman folklore about wolves? Is it merely the poet's desire to indulgence in antiquarianism? I think Vergil chose the wolf specifically because of the animal's widespread appearance in Italy. He uses the wolf as a unifying image. An image

that appeals to Etruscans and Romans alike. In doing so Vergil articulates a shared heritage for both Etruscan and Roman, and communicates that the Rome of his day is not just Latin but all Italy.

Chapter 6: Birds

6.1 The Dove

6.1.1 Cultural and Scientific beliefs

Doves or pigeons are common in cities around the world, and consequently are considered pests (Jerolmack 2008:72).[395] Although doves are by no means the only 'nuisance bird' (starlings are another), they are a despised species and drastic efforts, such as poison, spikes and gas are used in an attempt to repel them (Jerolmack 2008:72). Doves were just as common and widespread throughout the Mediterranean, as is evident from skeletal remains, literary sources and art (Mackinnon 2014b:174). However. doves were not viewed with the disdain they enjoy today. In fact some cities were praised for their abundance of doves, as Homer says in the Catalogue of Ships: 'Copae, Eutresis and Thisbe, rich in doves' (*Il*.2.502).[396] Thisbe's epithet πολυτρήρωνά ('abounding in doves') is not a slight on the city's reputation, but rather describes the geography; the city lay at the foot of Mount Helicon and its harbour was situated on rocky ground (Strabo, *Geog*.9.2.28).[397] When we examine the dove similes of the *Iliad* we also find a lack of disdain. The common perceptions and associations linked with doves are timidity and the feminine, as the dove simile of *Iliad* 5 illustrates.[398]

This simile describes the manner in which Hera and Athena approach the Greeks:

> The two goddesses went their way with steps like those of timid doves, eager to assist the Argive soldiers.

---

[395] There is no taxonomic difference between doves and pigeons as Jerolmack points out (2008:87), rather the difference lines in the etymology of the two names; 'dove' from Proto-German and 'pigeon' from French.

[396] Homer uses πολυτρήρωνά again in connection with Messe in Lacedaemon, saying: *'*and they dwelt in the hollow land of Lacedaemon with her many ravines, and Pharis, Sparta and Messe, the abode of doves' (*Il*.2.581-582).
Homeric Messe is identified with Pausanias' account of Messa, a city with a harbour (*Grae*.*Desc*.3.25.9-10), albeit with an alternative Doric spelling.

[397] Modern observers, such as James Frazer, have remarked that the description is still applicable for 'immense numbers of wild pigeons' nest in the surrounding cliff of Thisvi, modern Thisbe (Frazer 1898:v162; Kirk 1985:175).

[398] Of the three dove similes in the *Iliad*, only one describes the action of heroes: 'as a falcon, swiftest of birds, readily swoops after a timid dove in the mountains; she flees under his attack, but from nearby he swoops again and again with shrill shrieks, and his spirit urges him to seize her; even so Achilles in hot pursuit rushed straight on, and Hector fled under the walls of the Trojans, plying his nimble feet' (*Il*.22.139-144).

(*Il*.5.778-779)[399]

The epithet τρήρων ('timid', *Il*.5.778) is frequently applied to doves in Homer, which suggests that the bird's timidity was proverbial (Kirk 1990:139).[400] The simile is unusual since the goddesses are imagined as waddling and timid—both undignified traits for goddesses—more often it is the swiftness of birds that is applied to the gods (Kirk 1990:139).[401] The context of the dove simile, however, to my mind does not suggest that the goddess are in anyway fearful, nor would I argue that the waddling is undignified. Rather the simile describes the gentleness of their (feminine) steps while at the same time alludes to quietness. This becomes clearer when we confront a dove simile in which the context is hostile:

> The goddess [Artemis] burst into tears and fled from Hera like a dove that escapes from a hawk and flies into a hollow rock or cleft—it is not her fate to die; just so Artemis fled in tears, leaving her bow and arrows on the ground.
>
> (*Il*.21.493-496)

The falcon image stresses that Artemis moved quickly, while the dove emphasises her panic and fear of Hera. The juxtaposition of the two birds also marks the balance of power between the two goddess. The falcon, which is clearly the stronger of the two birds, indicates Hera's superiority, while the dove Artemis' inferiority (Johansson 2012:189). These two similes suggest that the dove was noted for its timidity and quietness in the Homeric world, however, in works of later Greek poets and in art, the dove was increasingly viewed as a symbol of Aphrodite.[402] A poem attributed to the Greek lyric poet Anacreon of Teos (ca. 575-480 BCE), describes the goddess' dove carrying messages to the poet's love Bathyllus:[403]

> Beloved dove, whence are you flying? Whence, as you fly through the air, do the many fragrances that you smell of and sprinkle come? Who are you, what is dear to you? 'Anacreon has sent me to

[399] This simile resembles a dove simile from *Homeric Hymn* 3 in which Iris and Eileithyia go to Leto: 'and so [Iris] persuaded the heart of Eileithyia in her dear breast; and they went on their way, like timid doves in their steps' (*Hom*.*Hym*.3.113-114).
[400] The dove it seems, like the deer, was noted for its shy and unwarlike nature; see section 4.1 above.
[401] For example, Poseidon is compared to a hawk in *Iliad* 13.62-65 and Apollo to a falcon in *Iliad* 15.236-238.
[402] That doves were closely aligned with timidity is revealed by the Homeric epithet πολυτρήρων which is comprised of the prefix πολυ (much) and τρήρων (timorous/shy) (Liddell, Scott, and Jones 1996:1815).
[403] Poem 15, as the rest of the poems of the *Anacreontea*, was not composed by the famous poet (Baumbach and Dümmler 2014:3). An exact date for the collection's composition is difficult to determine as there is little external evidence for the authorship and origin of the individual poems (Baumbach and Dümmler 2014:3). The *Anacreontea* was likely put together over an extended period of time (from 1st century BCE to 6th century CE) by various authors whose names are unknown (Baumbach and Dümmler 2014:4).

> a boy, to Bathyllus, who even now rules over everyone and tyrants too. Cythera sold me in exchange for a small hymn.'
>
> (*Anac*.15.1-12)[404]

In the dove's own words she reveals that she belonged to Aphrodite (πέπρακέ μ' ἡ Κυθήρη, *Anac*.15.11). The dove even assumes aspects of the goddess, for as she flies through the air she gives off the scent of perfume and drizzles it too (μύρων τοσούτων / ἐπ' ἠέρος θέουσα / πνέεις τε καὶ ψεκάζεις, *Anac*.15.3-5). The perfume symbolises pleasure and hedonism, traits dear to Aphrodite (Gutzwiller 2014:61). The association between doves and Aphrodite is put across even more strongly by Ovid who describes the goddesses' mode of transport:[405]

> [Venus] rejoiced and thanked her father. Then borne by yoked doves through the gentle breezes, she came to the Laurentine shore, where the Numicius, cloaked in reeds, creeps along its watery course to the neighbouring sea.
>
> (*Metam*.14. 597-599)

In the plastic arts the association between dove and goddess was also expressed; most notably on Cyprus, Aphrodite's birthplace, where numerous statues depicting the goddess holding a dove or with a dove adorning her crown have been found (Arnott 2007:259; Ulbrich 2010:181-183).[406] The goddess' doves also appeared on coins. The Sicilian city of Eryx in particular struck a number of silver tetradrachm which depict Aphrodite enthroned holding a dove with spread wings (Sear 1978:82; Arnott 2007:260). That Eryx would choose such subject matter comes as no surprises since the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus (ca. 90 – 21 BCE) records that the city's eponymous founder was the son of the goddess:

> When Hercules neared the region of Eryx, Eryx, who was the son of Aphrodite and Butes, and at that time ruler of that region, challenged him to wrestling match.
>
> (*Bil*.*Hist*.4.23.2)[407] [408]

---

[404] From the Greek text edited by Zotou (2014).
[405] For further references to the connection between Aphrodite/Venus and doves see Hyginus (*Fab*.197), Statius (*Silv*.1.2.51), Apuleius (*Metam*.6.6) and Aelian (*De Nat.Anim*.10.33).
[406] Compare two Apulian red-figure vases by the the Iliupersis Painter (ca. 360 BCE) (Jentoft-Nilsen and Trendall 1990:1) which show Aphrodite seated with a dove on her lap (Boston 1970.235, Museum of Fine Arts; RISD 25.089, Rhode Island School of Design Museum).
[407] From the Greek text of Oldfather et al (1933-1967).
[408] Historically Eryx was famous for a temple of Venus Erycina (Gruen 1990:9; Orlin 2010:71). Nothing remains of her original temple. Her cult, however, was introduced to Rome during the First Punic War (217

In addition to mythological and artistic associations, doves also had a religious significance in the worship of Aphrodite. In classical Athens there was an altar dedicated to Aphrodite Ourania ('Heavenly Aphrodite') located west of the Painted Stoa (Foster 1984:73). Archaeological evidence found in the soil adjacent to the altar has yielded an enormous assemblage of bones: goats, sheep, cows and birds (Foster 1984:74). What is very telling is that of the 264 bones that were identified as avian, 81% were the remains of doves (Foster 1984:76). Epigraphic evidence found on the western slope of the Acropolis dating from about 283/282 BCE, seems to confirm the evidence of the physical remains (Carbon, Peels and Pirenne-Delforge 2015):

> Whenever the procession for Aphrodite Pandemos takes place, procure a dove for the cleansing of the temple.
>
> (*Inscrip.Greac*.II^2.659.21-24=*CGRN* 136.21-24)[409]

This inscription is part of an official decree concerning the cult of Aphrodite Pandemos ('Common Aphrodite').[410] The fact that doves were sacficied to purify the temple is unusal since piglets were usually used for that purpose (Burkert 1985:110; Carbon, Peels and Pirenne-Delforge 2015). The likely reason for this deviation was the dove's association with the goddess.[411] When we examine what Aristotle says about the mating of doves, we may discover a tentative answer to why the creature was associated with the goddess of love. In Book 6 of his *Historia Animalium*, Aristotle records that male and female doves kiss:

> Among doves a unique phenomenon is observed when the male covers the female. For they kiss one another, when the male is about to mount [the female], without which he would not cover her.
>
> (*Hist.Anim.*6.2.560b25)

This affection shown between male and female dove may explain why the bird was seen as Aphrodite's sacred bird. The 'kiss' was noted by Pliny as well, who describes the act in words echoing Aristotle: 'doves follow a peculiar ritual and kiss each other before mating'

BCE) (Livy, *Ab Urb.Cond*.22.9.7-11) and a temple was dedicated to her on the Capitoline Hill in 215 BCE (Orlin 2010:72).
Vergil alludes to the shared maternity of Eryx and Aeneas when he makes Palinurus exclaim: 'I believe that the faithful and fraternal shore of Eryx and the havens of Sicily are not far off' (*Aen*.5.23-24).

[409] From the text of the *Collection of Greek Ritual Norms* 136 (2015) by Carbon, Peels and Pirenne-Delforge.

[410] Plato explains the meaning of the epithet Pandemos by pointing out that there are two Aphrodites: 'one is the older, not born of a mother, but daughter of Heaven, hence we call her Heavenly Aphrodite; the other is younger, the daughter of Zeus and Dione, and her we call Common Aphrodite' (*Symp*.180d-e). From the text edited by Dover (1980).

[411] Ovid tells us that white doves were especially sacrificed to Venus: 'therefore the white dove, a wife torn from her husband, is often burnt upon Idalian hearths' (*Fast*.1.451-452).

(*Nat*.*Hist*.10.79.158). That doves were amorous appears to have been a widespread belief in the Roman world since both Catullus and Ovid use images of doves' kissing and showing affection.[412]

What is interesting is that this ancient observation is not groundless as modern ornithologists have confirmed its veracity. When the female rock dove indicates her willingness to mate, the male approaches closer and begins to 'bill her head and neck feathers' (Johnston and Janiga 1995:63). This action is not grooming, but rather a bonding ritual, since the female bills the male in turn (Johnston and Janiga 1995:63).

In addition to the dove's place in poetry and religion, the bird also served more practical purposes such as carrier bird:

> Furthermore doves have also acted as messengers in important matters, during the siege of Mutina, Decimus Brutus sent letters, tied to the feet of doves, to the consuls' camp; what good were the rampart and alert blockade to Antony, and even the nets that he had spread in the river, when the messenger travelled through the sky?
>
> (*Nat.Hist.*10.53.110)[413]

The Battle of Mutina (modern Modena) took place in 43 BCE (de Blois 2007:175). The forces of the Senate were led by the two consuls, Aulus Hirtius and Gaius Pansa, and Octavian against Mark Antony, who was defeated (de Blois 2007:175). The use of doves to carry messages is in fact quite old. The ancient Egyptians were likely the first to use doves to carry messages, announcing the ascension of a new pharaoh (Blechman 2006:11). Likewise by the eight century BCE the Greeks used doves to carry messages to various city-states, which announced the results of Olympic winners (Blechman 2006:11).[414]

---

[412] Catullus: 'nor has any dove delighted so much in her snow-white consort, which they say is always snatching kisses with her nipping beak, more shamelessly than a woman who especially longs for many' (*Carm*.68.125-128).
Ovid: 'doves that just now were fighting, join their beaks together, and their cooing contains words of affection' (*Ars Arm*.2.465-466).

[413] The Roman author of a treaty on aqueducts, Frontinus (40 – 103 CE) (Stevens and Whittick 1961:371), also recounts the story of Brustus' carrier doves in his military treaty the *Strategemata* (3.13.8).

[414] Plutarch recounts that in the Greek version of the flood myth, Deucalion sent out a dove: 'therefore the storytellers say that when Deucalion released a dove from the ark, her returning was a clear sign that the storm was still raging, but her flying away was a sign of fair weather' (*Moral.*968f=*De Soll.Anim.*13). This story bears a close resemblance to the Genesis flood, where Noah sends out both a raven and dove (*Genesis* 8:7-8). As John Collins notes, this indicates that Plutarch likely drew on Semitic sources for his version since the dove episode is absent from other accounts of Deucalion (2012:407). For further references to the flood myth in Greek and Latin literature refer to Plato (*Laws* 3.677a; *Timaeus* 22a), Apollodorus (*Bibl*.1.7.2) and Ovid (*Metam*.1.313-415).

Doves not only served utilitarian purposes, they were also pets. Perhaps the most famous example of this is a marble grave stele of a little girl housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Lazenby 1949b.). The stele depicts a girl tenderly holding two doves, while the dove in her right hand she kisses on the beak. The image leaves no doubt that theses doves were her pets. The lengths that some dove enthusiasts went to, highlight the care and concern shown to the creature as Pliny disdainfully explains:

> The love for [dove-keeping] sometimes reaches insane lengths; they erect towers for these birds on top of their houses, and they brag about the nobility and lineage of specific birds; there is now an old example of this: before the civil war of Pompey, Lucius Axius, a Roman knight, offered doves for sale at 400 denarii a pair, as Marcus Varro relates. Indeed the largest doves, which are thought to originate in Campania, have made their homeland famous.
>
> (*Nat*.*Hist*.10.53.110)

Pliny's statement reveals that dove fanciers took their hobby seriously, and in his opinion a bit too seriously. The price, however, that a pair of white doves could fetch is reason enough for the extraordinary lengths Pliny accuses birdkeepers of.[415]

When we examine the *Eclogues* we find doves already present. Unlike in the later *Aeneid*, however, Vergil refers not only to *columba* ('rock dove') but also to *palumbes* ('woodpigeon') and *turtur* ('turtle dove').[416] Doves are in fact the first birds to appear in the *Eclogues*. In the scene Meliboeus speaks to Tityrus and tells him that the farm he is returning to after his exile will yield him delight:

> And all the while your dear deep-voiced woodpigeons will sing, and from a high elm tree a turtle dove will never cease her cooing.
>
> (*Ecl*.1.58-59)

Here the woodpigeons and turtle dove serve to colour Meliboeus' words, creating a scene of a peaceful and tranquil farm. We do not find doves used in this way in the *Aeneid*, to which we now turn.

---

[415] As Pliny mentions, Varro is the source on Lucius Axius (*De Re Rust*.3.7.11), however, in general Varro says: 'at Rome, if they are beautiful, of a good colour, unblemished, and of a good breed, a single pair generally sells for 200 sesterces, an exceptional pair, however, for 1000 sesterces' (*De Re Rust*.3.7.10).
[416] Homer only mentions the rock dove (12 occasions), except on one occasion where he refers to a wood pigeon (*Il*.15.237). Aristotle, on the other hand, identified a wide range of dove species: rock doves, woodpigeons and turtle doves amongst others (*Hist.Anim.*5.13.544b1-12.). Pliny likewise also identified a wide variety of doves, noting that some, like turtle doves and woodpigeons, migrate (*Nat*.*Hist*.10.35.72).

6.1.2 Doves in Aeneid 2

The first dove reference occurs in a passage narrated by Aeneas about the death of Priam (*Aen*.2.506-558). The passage begins by describing how the old king puts on his cuirass and takes up his sword, before moving on to a description of his wife Hecuba and their daughters huddled around an altar:

> Here around the altar, sat Hecuba and her daughters in vain, huddled together with their arms around the statues of the gods, like doves driven headlong from the sky by a black storm.
>
> (*Aen*.2.515-517)

This altar is described as being in the centre of the palace, which strongly suggests that the altar was dedicated to Zeus Herkeios ('of the courtyard'), the guardian of the household (Ganiban et al 2012:253). Thus the dove imagery is fitting since we can imagine that a cliff face would, like the altar, provide refuge and safety. Hecuba supposes this when she persuades Priam against fighting and rather: '[she] drew the venerable king to herself and found a place for him at the altar' (*Aen*.2.525). The dove simile also accurately describes the movement and stance of Hecuba and her daughters. The doves plunge headlong (*praecipites*), as the women rush to the altar where they huddle (*condensae*), like doves do to avoid predators (Johnston and Janiga 1995:191). In spite of the supposed protection the altar provides, *nequiquam* and *atra tempestate* hint that all is not well. We have already seen that altars do not always offer protection; recall the twin snakes that kill Laocoon and his sons.[417] Like Laocoon's altar, this altar will also shortly be bloodied with the blood of Trojans who went there for protection. The first is Polites, the son of Priam and Hecuba, whom Pyrrhus dispatches (*Aen*.2.526-532), before killing the father (*Aen*.2.550-553). Although the fate of Hecuba and her daughters is not explicitly mentioned, Vergil's Roman audience would have been well aware of other classical works that detail their miserable fate.[418]

Vergil may have had a passage from Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* in mind though he adapted his simile (Conington 1863:159). In the passage Danaus bids his daughters, the Danaids, to pray at the common altar, saying:

> Danaus: Pay respect to the common altar of all these gods; and seat yourselves on sacred ground like a flock of doves in fear of hawks, their fellow-birds; kin, yet enemies, who stain their race.

[417] See section 2.2.
[418] See for example Euripides' *Troades* where Hecuba ends as a slave to Odysseus (*Tro*.277) or Ovid's *Metamorphoses* which tells that Hecuba was transformed into a dog (*Metam*.13.565-575).

(*Supp*.222-225)[419]

The situation the Danaids find themselves in is similar to that of Hecuba and her daughters. The Danaids along with their father fled Aegyptus, who wished to marry his fifty sons to them. In their exile they came to Argos to find sanctuary with its king, Pelasgus. The dove-hawk simile succinctly captures the fear they feel not only over reprisals from Aegyptus, but also over their refugee status, since Pelasgus is reluctant to offer them asylum. In the end, however, by vote of the people of Argos, Pelasgus relents and grants the Danaids sanctuary. Vergil, I think, replaced the hawks with a storm to leave the fate of Hecuba and her daughters open-ended: that is to say the readers are left to imagine what awaits them. By making this change, Vergil in fact heightens the hopelessness of the whole situation. The already vulnerable doves appear more so when faced with a mighty storm; whereas doves may escape hawks, they could hardly escape a storm. In this passage the dove image, therefore, makes Hecuba and her daughters the ultimate defenceless victims.

[419] From the Greek text of Smyth (1930b).

6.1.3 Doves in *Aeneid* 5

Doves next appear in a simile describing Mnestheus, whose ship Pristis participates in the ship race of Book 5. With Sergetus' ship stranded on a reef, Mnestheus and his crew sail past:[420]

> [Mnestheus was] like a dove that soars flying to the fields after being suddenly startled from her cave, where her nest and beloved chicks are hidden in porous rock; frightened from her home she makes a loud noise with her wings; but soon gliding through the still air, she skims her clear path without moving her swift wings.
>
> (*Aen*.5.213-217)

This rather extended simile vividly captures the momentum with which Mnestheus and the Pristis cut through the water (*Aen*.5.218-220), yet the dove is clearly the main character in this simile. Vergil gives a great amount of detail: the dove is nervous (*subito commota*), she is a mother, she flees her home, but her fear gives way to a tranquil flight. The detailed description suggests that Vergil was concerned with accuracy while at the same the simile offers such a life-like image of a dove that one may be forgiven in forgetting that Mnestheus is the simile's tenor.

This simile, Fratantuono and Smith note, bears a close similarity to the hawk simile from Apollonius' *Argonautica* (2015:290). In Book 2, after the Argonauts have made sacrifices to Ἀπόλλων νηοσσόος ('Apollo, protector of ships'), they let loose the Argo's sails:

> And [the Argo] was borne violently over the sea, as a hawk flying high through the air when it yields to the breeze its wings and is carried along swiftly, and it does not shake its wings, but floats in the clear sky with still wings.
>
> (*Argo*.2.932-935)

Vergil has replaced the hawk with a dove, which Nelis suggests the poet did so as to link Mnestheus' approach to the rock (*Aen*.5.202) with the Argo's journey past the Symplegades ('Clashing Rocks'), which involved the releasing of a dove (2001:214). Another reason for the change may be that the dove, unlike the hawk, is fearful/timid which correlates with Mnestheus' fear of almost hitting the reef that stranded Sergestus' ship (*Aen*.5.201-209). The addition of the chicks (*dulces…nidi*, *Aen*.5.214) adds to the dove's anxiety which neatly correlates with Mnestheus' concerns for the safety of his ship and crew. The hawk is a perfect simile for Apollonius, since the emphasis is simply on speed. The dove, however, is more nuanced,

[420] For reference to Sergestus and the snake-ship simile see section 2.4.

stressing not only Mnestheus' energetic speed but also conveying empathy for both dove and man (Otis 1995:61).

In the end, like the dove's, Mnestheus' fear gives way to peaceful sailing, although ultimately, he loses the ship race (*Aen*.5.232-233). The dove simile also functions on another level. It foreshadows the dove that serves as the target of the archery contest (*Aen*.5.488-542). Mnestheus shoots but instead breaks the dove's bonds and sets it free (*Aen*.5.509-511), Eurytion, however, kills the dove (*Aen*.5.514). Reading this later dove reference back into the simile suggests that dove similes are not descriptive of success or positive outcomes: i.e. Mnestheus looks as if he is about to win, but Cloanthus rushes past thanks to a prayer (*Aen*.5.235-242). In this way the Mnestheus-dove simile also looks back to Hecuba, where the altar provides no security from the gathering storm clouds. The last dove simile of the *Aeneid* also suggests that dove similes are emblematic of failure.[421]

After the ship race, we move onto the archery contest. It is here that we meet the first real dove in the *Aeneid*.[422] It is Aeneas who in preparation for the archery contest ties a dove to the mast:

> He raised with his mighty hand a mast from Serestus' ship and, with a winding cord, he fastened a fluttering dove from the top of the mast so that they could aim their arrows at it.
>
> (*Aen*.5.487-489)

The choice of a dove as a live target strikes us as cruel. Not to mention the question of impropriety since the dove, Venus' bird, features in a book that deals with her Sicilian cult at Eryx (at the close of the boxing match a sacrifice is made to her son Eryx, *Aen*.5.477-484).[423] Vergil was likely motived to choose the dove since in Book 23 of the *Iliad* Achilles also sets up a dove as target:

> He [Achilles] set up the mast of a dark-prowed ship a long way off in the sands, and with a delicate cord he fastened a timorous dove to it by the foot, and commanded to aim at it.
>
> (*Il*.23.852-855)

[421] This simile compares the son of Aunus to a dove which is killed by Camilla in the guise of a falcon: see section 6.1.5 below.
[422] The other real doves are the pair that lead Aeneas to the Golden Bough in Book 6, see section 6.1.4 below.
[423] Servius notes the apparent impropriety, saying: 'one must be aware that this whole passage was taken from Homer: and it is not fair to blame Aeneas for hanging up the bird of his mother. For the passage was simply translated: and whatever bird he had hang up he would incur this blame: for no bird is devoid of consecration, because each is consecrated to a god' (*Comm.Verg.Aen*.5.517).

The parallels are striking, almost word for word, except what is said about the dove. Homer's τρήρωνα ('timorous', *Il*.23.853) reveals the dove's nature, fearful, but from a human viewer's perception. Vergil, on the other hand, uses *volucrem* ('fluttering', *Aen*.5.488), a more poignant description since it focuses on the dove; offering us a psychical manifestation of the bird's fear. This Vergil surely did to create sympathy for the bird, and if we examine the rest of the episode this comes across even more strongly.

The first of the competitors to take aim is Hippocoon (*Aen*.5.500-504), but he misses and instead strikes the mast:

> The mast shook, and the bird fluttered its wings in fear, and everywhere loud applause was heard.
>
> (*Aen*.5.505-506)

Unlike Homer, who makes Teucer miss the bird and instead αὐτὰρ ὃ μήρινθον βάλε πὰρ πόδα ('he hit the cord beside its foot', *Il*.23.865), Vergil delays mentioning the bird's freedom until lines 509-511. Vergil, it seems, has intentionally delayed so as to emphasise the creature's torment. The crowd's applause mingles with the flapping of the bird's wings. The crowd presumably applauds because of Hippocoon's near-hit, however, in Homer's version, the Greeks show their enthusiasm when the dove takes to the sky: 'then the dove darted towards the sky, and the cord hung down to earth; and the Greeks cried aloud' (*Il*.23.867-868). Why did Vergil not put the applause where one would expect; in lines 509-511? May Vergil subtly be criticising the crowd? That they applause only because the dove was spared so as to be able to entertain them again later? When the dove is set free by Mnestheus' unlucky shot, the crowd shows no response:

> But to his disappointment Mnestheus was unable to hit the bird herself with his arrow; he broke the knots of the linen-fetters with which her foot was tied as she hung from the high mast.
>
> (*Aen*.5.509-511)

Vergil creates suspense, only in the second line do we learn why Mnestheus is *miserandus* ('pitiable', *Aen*.5.509). His miss is all the more pitiable, since this is the second time he missed victory in the games (Fratantuono and Smith 2015:504). The word order of line 509, with the gerundive, *miserandus*, nestled between *ipsam* and *avem* invites pity for the dove as well. Mnestheus' failure gives the bird a moment of freedom and a chance to escape, only momentarily, however:

> And flying she fled into the south wind and dark clouds. Then Eurytion, who for a long time was holding his arrow stretched ready on his bow, called on his brother to hear his vow; he quickly caught sight of the dove as she was now flying happily through the open sky, and pierced her while she was beating her wings under a black cloud. She fell down, dead, and left behind her life in the heavenly stars, and as she fell she brought back the arrow which had pierced her.
>
> (*Aen*.5.512-518)

The bird escapes into the south wind and clouds, but the clouds are *atra* ('black') which foreshadows its death (*exanimis*). Her escape, described as happy (*laetem*) is surrounded by the words *vacuo…caelo* ('empty air', *Aen*.5.515); an unsettling detail since the dove will soon fall out of the air (Fratantuono and Smith 2015:507). Vergil again mentions a black cloud (*nigra…nube*, *Aen*.5.516); ominous. It is while flying under this cloud that the dove, who has thus far missed being hit by Hippocoon and Mnestheus' arrows, finally gets hit while she flaps her wings (*plaudentem…columbam*), which recalls the crowd's applause from the earlier passage. A striking echo which suggests that the crowd is satisfied enough to warrant her death.

The location where the bird dies (*astris / aetheriis*, *Aen*.5.517-518) is different from Homer's version:

> The bird, perching on the mast of a dark-prowed ship, let her neck hang down, and at once dropped her thick feathers.
>
> (*Il*.23.877-879)

Vergil places the dove's death in the natural place for to her live, emphasising how pitiable and unnecessary her death was. The adjective *aetherius* ('heavenly') also recalls the location of the gods, in this scene, especially Venus, which is significant for the next doves we meet are the goddess' own doves sent to guide Aeneas to the Golden Bough (*Aen*.6.190-204). The last we hear of the poor dove in Book 5 is that her vanquisher, Eurytion, does not receive the prize:

> And good-natured Eurytion did not envy the prize which was promised beforehand to another, although he alone had shot down the bird from the sky.
>
> (*Aen*.5.541-542)

Although Eurytion is the only killer of the dove, the first prize is awarded to Acestes (*Aen*.5.539-540), while second and third are awarded to Mnestheus and Hippocoon respectively (*Aen*.5.543-544). Like the deer in *Aeneid* 1, Vergil focuses on the dove's responses and emotions: her flapping wings (*volucrem…columbam*, Aen.5.488), her fear (*timuitque exterrita pennis / ales*, *Aen*.5.505-

506), her happiness (*laetam*, *Aen*.5.515) and her death fall (*decidit exanimis*, *Aen*.5.517). Vergil's description of the dove cannot fail to move the hardest reader to sympathy for the creature. In this way the dove of Book 5 is very reminiscent of Silvia's stag, whose death was just as pitiable.

6.1.4 Doves in *Aeneid* 6

Aeneas, instructed by his father Anchises to make for the Underworld (*Aen*.5.719-733), seeks the Sibyl's assistance. Returning from the Sibyl, Aeneas discovers the dead Misenus (*Aen*.6.162-165). In search of wood for the funeral pyre, Aeneas heads into a great forest and, despondent, he prays (*Aen*.6.187-188). It is at this moment that his prayer is answered and at the same time it is here that we meet doves:

> He had scarcely said these words, when by chance two doves came flying down from heaven before his own eyes and settled on the green turf. Then the great hero recognised them as his own mother's birds, and joyfully prayed: 'O be my guides, if there is any path, and steer a course through the air to the grove where the precious bough covers rich soil with its shade. And you, O my divine mother, do not forsake me in my uncertain fortune.' So he spoke and then halted his steps, observing what omens the birds might give and to where they might proceed to go. As the doves fed, they advanced in flight just so far as the eyes of those following could keep them in sight. When they came to the evil-smelling jaws of Avernus, they swiftly ascended from there, gliding through the clear air and both perched on the desired spot at the top of a tree; and there among the branches glittered the multi-coloured splendour of gold.
>
> (*Aen*.6.190-204)

The fact that doves are a pair is a bit worrying since the image recalls the twin serpents sent by Minerva to kill Laocoon and his sons (*Aen*.2.201-227).[424] Aeneas, however, recognises that these birds belong to his own mother, Venus. This is not the first time Venus has lent her son aid nor the last.[425] Servius' comment about the pair of doves is enlightening:

> However, as both a son of Venus and a king, Aeneas received a good augury from the doves: for the augury of doves pertains to kings, because doves are never alone, in the same way as kings are never.
>
> *(Comm.Verg.Aen*.6.190)

Servius' comments align with what we know about doves in the Greco-Roman world. The dove is consistently associated with Venus and likewise the bird was perceived as amorous which it could hardly be if it was by nature solitary.[426] Thus as the goddess' son and leader of his people, Vergil

[424] See section 2.2.
[425] In Book 1 Venus beseeches Jupiter for her son's sake (*Aen*.229-253); in Book 5 she intercedes to protect the Trojans' remaining ships (*Aen*.5.779-815); she instructs Vulcan to make Aeneas arms (*Aen*.8.382-383); in Book 10 she again argues for her son's cause in a debate with Jupiter and Juno (*Aen*.10.16-117).
[426] Aristotle remarks that of birds: 'among birds, gregarious types are doves, cranes and swans' (*Hist.Anim.*1.1.488a3.)

could not have chosen a more fitting species. The doves are a physical manifestation that Venus has not abandoned her son, and the Romans as his descendants would also have found comfort in the birds' miraculous appearance.

The theme of doves guiding a person to a spot or through a dangerous passage is not unique to the *Aeneid*. When the Argonauts brave the Clashing Rocks, the seer, Phineus, instructs them to:

> First release a dove from your ship and send her ahead of you before you attempt the way. And if she flies safely on her wings through those rocks into the sea, then do not delay your voyage any further, but stoutly grip the oars in your hands and cut through the sea's narrow strait.
>
> (*Argo*.2.328-343)

Although the situation is different, the doves guide Aeneas to the golden bough, without which he could not pass the dangers of the Underworld.[427]

Unlike the dove tied to the mast in the archery contest, these two behave leisurely, echoing their mistress; they feed and their flight is peaceful, going only so far as to still be in view. The birds only perk up when they reach the jaws of Lake Avernus. The foul smell is the cause of the bird's quick ascent. It was thought to be sulphuric fumes and hence we learn that the Greek name of the Lake was *Aornos* ('birdless') (*Aen*.6.242).[428] It is at the entrance of Avernus that Aeneas and the Sibyl enter the Underworld (*Aen*.6.237-238), since the lake is toxic to the birds, the lack of them may symbolise that while Aeneas is in the Underworld his mother may not offer him further assistance. The final act of the birds is to perch themselves on the branches of a tree (*Aen*.6.203) and thereby point out where the golden bough lies. Vergil describes the bough as some type of branch, yet unlike other branches, this branch stands out because it is *discolor*, because unlike the other it is not green but gold (Fratantuono 2007:172).

[427] The golden bough is the special offering owed to Proserpina (*Aen*.6.142) and when Charon sees it he admits Aeneas passage across the Styx (*Aen*.6.406-410).
[428] Lucretius was likely Vergil's source: 'firstly, places that are called Avernian, "bird-less", derive their name from their nature, because they are dangerous to all birds. For when birds have come into the vicinity of those places, forgetting to flap, they slacken their wings and fall with their soft necks stretched out headlong to the ground, if by chance the nature of such places cause them to fall in this way, or into water, if by chance a lake of Avernus lies underneath them' (*De Re.Nat*.6.740-746).

6.1.5 Doves in *Aeneid* 11

Near the end of Book 11, we find Camilla in the thick of battle. The list of those men she has killed follows (*Aen*.11.664-698), and ends with a story of a cunning Ligurian, the son of Aunus, who tricks her into fighting on foot, only to be overtaken and killed by her:

> On her nimble feet, the maiden passed by his horse like lightning, and facing him from in front took hold of the reins, and attacked the youth, exacting penalties from his hated blood; as easily as when a falcon, [Apollo's] sacred bird, swoops from his high rock and chases a dove high up in a cloud, and catching her, he holds her as he disembowels her with his hooked talons; then blood and plucked out feathers fall from the sky.
>
> (*Aen*.11.718-724)

This the final dove appearance in the epic is also the most bloody: disembowelment and bloodied feathers. We have already seen that dove similes are not emblematic of success or positive outcomes, none so more than here. The imagery of this simile recalls the *ore cruento* ('bloodied mouth') of the lion we saw earlier.[429] Therefore we should read this simile as foreshadowing Camilla's death, who dies like a shepherd or bullock at the hands of lupine Arruns (*Aen*.11.809-815).[430] Another surprising element to the simile, noted by Servius (*Comm*.*Verg*.*Aen*.11.722), is that the woman is a hawk while the man is a dove. This paradox is sharpened by the gender of *accipiter* (*Aen*.11.721) and *columba* (*Aen*.11.722). The application of dove to Camilla's opponent illustrates just how unprepared he was to take on the warrior-maiden; the taunt she hurls at him suggests as much: *vane Ligus frustraque animis elate superbis* ('Foolish Ligurian, blinded by arrogance', *Aen*.11.715). This is not the first time that a man has underestimated Camilla's prowess. Recall the hunter Ornytus, who wore a wolf helmet (*Aen*.11.681). His inexperience led to his death, as does the Ligurian's arrogance.

This dove simile is adapted from two by Homer. The first occurs during the fight between Achilles and Hector (*Il*.22.139-144). Homer's version is decidedly less bloody. Understandably so since it was not yet time for Hector to die. It is from the second Homeric simile that Vergil borrowed the image of a hawk plucking out a dove's feathers:

> Then as Telemachus spoke a bird flew to the right; a falcon, the swift messenger of Apollo. He held a dove in his talons, and plucked out her feathers and scattered them down on the ground between the ship and Telemachus himself.

[429] Refer to sections 3.9, 3.10 and 3.11.
[430] See section 5.8.

(*Ody*.15.525-528)

What was an omen in the *Odyssey*, Vergil has employed as visceral simile describing the appalling end of Aunus' son (Horsfall 2003:393). The reference to Apollo in the simile is also usual. May Vergil be suggesting that the son of Aunus' death is in some way ordained by the god? It is more likely that the mention of Apollo simply reinforces the hawk's male gender i.e. a male god hence a male bird. This emphasises the martial skill of Camilla (she fights as well as a man), while at the same time ridicules the Ligurian's for his lack thereof; he is nothing but a timorous and defenceless dove, apt for disembowelment.

6.1.6 Conclusion

The dove appears ten times in the *Aeneid*, and although this number is relatively small in comparison to more numerous animal occurrences such as snakes, doves nonetheless are masterly used by Vergil to foreshadow disaster or other negative outcomes. This is the case with the first dove simile at *Aeneid* 2, where Hecuba and her daughters flock around the god's altar for protection (*Aen*.2.515-517). We might be inclined to imagine the altar as a rock-face, providing shelter to birds, but as the doves are driven by a black storm (***atra…tempestate***, *Aen*.2.516), so Hecuba will see her son, Polites, and her husband, Priam, killed before her eyes. In the aftermath of Pyrrhus' slaughter, only a miserable and wretched future awaits mother and daughters.

In the dramatic dove simile of Book 5, Vergil exhibited his creative side, for he adapted Apollonius' hawk simile (*Aen*.5.213-217). In replacing the hawk with a dove, Vergil not only captures the speed with which Mnestheus and his crew sail past the dangerous reef, but also poignantly describes Mnestheus' concern for his crew, comparing him to a mother dove (***dulces…nidi***, *Aen*.5.214). In a similar way, Vergil did not simply copy Homer's archery contest. He delayed mentioning the dove's freedom, thus heightening the creature's suffering (*Aen.5*.505-506), and our sympathy. When Mnestheus' shot does eventually free the dove, her freedom is short lived for she flies into dark clouds (***atra…nubile***, *Aen*.5.512). The location of her death Vergil has also changed. Homer makes the dove die on the ship's mast (*Il*.23.878), while Vergil has her die among the stars of heaven (*astris / aetheriis*, *Aen*.5.517-518). Thus the dove dies in a location where birds usually dwell unmolested. This change drives home how pitiable her death is.

The dove, as we saw, was dear to Venus, and Vergil did not fail to include a reference to this in his epic. When Aeneas, distraught over the death of Misenus and doubtful of his quest, seeks the golden bough, it is a pair of Venus' doves that show him the way (*Aen*.6.190-204). Their miraculous appearance restores not only his faith, but also provides him the means of safely entering the Underworld.

In the *Aeneid*'s final dove simile, Vergil uses a simile that was already established by Homer (*Il*.22.139-144). However, in a novel way, he ascribes a male bird to Camilla and a female bird to the son of Aunus (*Aen*.11.718-724). Therefore this simile functions on two levels: firstly it describes the hate Camilla feels for the Ligurian and the speed of her assault; secondly, by ascribing the male bird to Camilla, Vergil underscores her military brilliance (*accipiter*, *Aen*.11.721) in contrast to the son of Aunus', who is likened to a female bird (*columbam*, *Aen*.11.722). The dove, although only making up a small part of the *Aeneid*'s animal corpus, is

an important animal since it serves to provoke sympathy, portend disaster, and reaffirm divine support.

6.2 The Eagle

6.2.1 The Greek and Roman Eagle

The eagle is frequently mentioned in ancient literature; however, as Geoffrey Arnott notes, the word ἀετός ('eagle') was loosely applied to other large raptors, such as hawks, vultures and falcons which complicates our interpretation of the Greek understanding of the eagle (2007:4). In an attempt to define the eagle systematically, Aristotle in the ninth book of his *Historia Animalium* identified 6 species of the bird: from the πύγαργος ('white-tailed') to the γνήσιος ('true-bred eagle').[431] In fact there are 8 species of eagles in Greece as John Pollard has observed (1977:76). He argues that Aristotle's description of the eagle shows that he had some insight into the bird's habits (1977:78). For example, Aristotle remarks that 'the eagle hunts hares, fawns, foxes and other such animals' (*Hist*.*Anim*.9.32.619b30).[432] Aristotle also notes that the eagle attacks interlopers, saying that 'if an eagle comes upon anyone loitering around its nest, it will strike him with its wings and scratch him with its talons' (*Hist*.*Anim*.9.32.619a20-21).

In spite of these accurate descriptions, Aristotle also makes some rather dubious claims, such as that the eagle does not drink water (*Hist.Anim*.8.18.601b1-4).[433] and that it expels its chicks when fed up with feeding them, and in fact comes to loath its offspring (*Hist.Anim*.6.6.563a17-27).[434] His Roman counterpart Pliny the Elder repeats many of his observations, both accurate and incredulous: the 6 varieties of eagles (*Nat*.*Hist*.10.3.6), the cruelty of the adult birds to their young (*Nat*.*Hist*.10.4.13). Pliny, on the other hand, includes some intriguing facts not found in Aristotle. According to Pliny the *morphnos*, a type of eagle which inhabits lake districts, has a unique method of breaking tortoise shells:

> It has a knack for breaking the shells of tortoises that it has carried off by dropping them from the air; by chance the poet Aeschylus was killed by a falling tortoise, who, as they say, was trying to

[431] See *Hist.Anim.*9.32.618b18-619a14.
[432] Xenophon observed that hares were a particular favourite of the eagle: 'for [hares] are not only terrified of the dogs but also of eagles; for while they are passing over the slops of hillsides and open ground, hares are easily snatched up' (*Cyne.*5.16).
[433] 'Birds of prey, as has already been said, in general do not drink at all, but Hesiod appears to be ignorant of this fact, for in his story about the siege of Ninus he depicts the eagle that presided over the divinations as drinking' (*Hist.Anim*.8.18.601b1-4).
[434] 'The eagle lays three eggs and hatches two of them, as it is said in the verses of Musaeus: "it lays three, hatches two and cares for one." In most instances this is what happens, but three chicks have already been observed as well. As the chicks grow the adult becomes annoyed with feeding them and pushes one of the two out of the nest. It is also said that at this time the adult bird abstains from eating so that it would not snatch the whelps of wild beasts. So for a few days its talons turn inward and its feathers grow white, and in consequence at that time the adult bird comes to hate its own offspring' (*Hist.Anim*.6.6.563a17-27).

> avoid this disaster that the fates had foretold by carelessly believing that he was safe under a clear sky.
>
> (*Nat.Hist*.10.3.7-8)

That eagles do in fact break tortoise shells in this way is undisputed (Rogers 2015:32).[435] The earliest account of Aeschylus' strange death is the Roman historian Valerius Maximus, who wrote during the reign of Tiberius (Whittick 1961:935). Like Pliny, Valerius Maximus also says that Aeschylus went out into the open in the hope of avoiding being hit in the head (*Fact*.*Dicto.Memor*.9.12.2). The tale is likely apocryphal and is an example of the notion that one cannot escape fate. Pliny most probably included the legend in his account to lend credence to the eagle's ingenious method.[436] The knowledge that eagles kill tortoises in this way may have been widespread as the fable, *the eagle and the tortoise in the air* by Babrius, illustrates.[437]

This fable aligns with Pliny's account, but more importantly, it reveals something of the character that was attributed to the eagle. The payment that the eagle inquires after is nothing but a ruse; the eagle planned all along to drop the tortoise to get to its flesh. Like the earlier fable of the wolf and lamb (see section 5.1), this fable characterises the eagle as a deceiver and a trickster, persuading a creature that is too trusting to leave its usual habitat. The fable ends with an endomythium, where the tortoise herself realises too late and states the moral of the story: be happy with your lot in life.

As we have previously seen with other animals such as the wolf and snake, there was a great deal of eagle-centred folklore. In Aristotle we find an aetiological reason for the eagle's crooked beak. As the eagle ages its beak grows longer and more crooked, which eventually causes its death; this is apparently punishment: 'a certain tale tells that the eagle suffers this because it was once a man who wronged a stranger' (*Hist*.*Anim*.9.32.619a18). What this folktale reveals is that the eagle was thought to be unwelcoming, perhaps because it is was observed to be a solitary

---

[435] An online video shows an eagle smashing a tortoise shell in this way (Pets, Animals, Travel, Docs, & Rare Musical Stuff 2016).

[436] Aelian also mentions the tale of Aeschylus' death by a falling tortoise, however, in his version the eagle mistook the poet's bald head for a stone (*De Nat*.*Anim*.7.16).

[437] 'Once upon a time a sluggish tortoise said to the shearwaters of the marsh, and to the gulls and the wild terns, "If only he who made me had also given me wings." An eagle came upon the tortoise and in jest spoke to her, "Little tortoise, how much will you pay me, an eagle, if I raised you lightly into the air?" "I shall give you all the gifts of the Erythraean Sea", the tortoise said. "Well then, I shall teach you", the eagle replied. Laid on her back, the eagle picked up the tortoise and concealed her in the clouds, then he dropped her onto a mountain and smashed the entire shell that covered her back. While the tortoise was gasping for breath, she said, "It is fitting that I die, for what need was there of clouds or wings for me, since I already walk on the ground with difficulty"' (*Barbius* 115 = Perry 230).

animal. The notion that the adult bird pushed chicks out of its nest likely furthered the cruel and unwelcoming attributes ascribed to the bird. Not all eagle-centred folklore, however, was negative; the eagle placed a unique stone in its nest that had magical properties as Pliny says:

> The first three and fifth types of eagles erect a stone in their nests, named an eagle-stone (which some call gagites), which is beneficial for many cures, and it loses none of its potency in fire. This stone, however, is pregnant with another inside it, which when you shake it rattles as if in a water pot. But unless these stones are removed from the nest they do not possess the medicinal qualities.
>
> (*Nat.Hist.*10.4.12)

Pliny seems to be describing a type of geode that the eagle would take to its nest to facilitate fertility. Whatever the eagle-stone's (*aetites*) efficacy, it was a popular belief since Pliny's contemporary, Dioscorides, recommends that an amulet made of the eagle-stone can protect a woman against miscarriage (*Mat.Med.*5.161).[438]

In addition to the folklore surrounding the eagle, the bird also had important mythological and religious associations, chief among these was as Zeus' sacred animal (Burkert 1985:164; 169). It is likely that the eagle's association with Zeus rests in his role as god of the sky—a line from Euripides' *Rhesus* clinches the symbolism: 'and the eagle hovers in the middle of heaven' (*Rhes*. 530). Homeric eagle references confirm that heaven is the bird's preferred haunt. J Boraston notes that the most frequent epithet applied to the bird is ὑψιπέτης ('high-soaring') (1911:234). Pliny provides an interesting observation that could further explain the association between bird and god: 'it is said that the eagle is the only bird never killed by lightning; for this reason tradition has proclaimed the bird Jupiter's armour-bearer' (*Nat*.*Hist*.10.4.15). Although the likelihood of eagles being safe from lightning is highly questionable, the folk belief indicates that the bond between eagle and Zeus/Jupiter was commonly believed.

As Zeus' special bird the eagle represented his righteous anger. For example when Prometheus gave mankind fire, Zeus sent his eagle to punish the transgression by having the bird eat the Titan's immortal liver (*Theog*.523-525). The eagle also served to fulfil Zeus' sexual appetites such as when Ganymede attracts the god's attention. It is the eagle who bears the youth up to Olympus

[438] Aelian also remarks on the eagle-stone, saying: 'larks protect themselves with dog's-tooth grass, and eagles with a stone which is therefore called after them eagle-stone' (*De Nat.Anim*.1.35).

as we have already seen.[439] In Ovid's version of the myth, the god himself assumes the shape of an eagle:

> Jupiter discovered a form that he preferred more than his own. No mere bird was worthy of him, except [the eagle], which is able to carry his own thunderbolts.
>
> (*Metam*.10.156-158)

Besides serving as Zeus' divine agent, the eagle also enjoyed a pre-eminent position in augury. When Agamemnon prays to Zeus to spare the Greeks (*Il*.8.242-244), the god dispatches an eagle from Mount Ida:

> Thus spoke Agamemnon, and the Father felt pity for him as he shed tears, and promised him that his people would live and not be destroyed. At once he sent an eagle, the most positive of winged omens, grasping in its talons a fawn, the offspring of a swift hind; the eagle threw the fawn down beside the exquisite altar of Zeus, where the Achaeans were accustomed to sacrifice to Zeus, the author of all omens. When they saw that the bird had come from Zeus, they attacked the Trojans with greater determination and turned their thoughts to the love of battle.
>
> (*Il*.8.245-252)

Zeus reacts immediately and sympathetically to Agamemnon's prayer, which suggests that a close bond exists between the god and king. The eagle is referred to as τελειότατον πετεηνῶν (*Il*.8.247) which Kirk translates 'most fulfilling of portents among birds' (1990:320). This line is a statement that references divination from birds, while at the same time it emphasises that the eagle is the most trustworthy of omen-bringing birds (Johansson 2012:92). The eagle is carrying a fawn (*Il*.8.248) which is not extraordinary as Aristotle notes large eagles are capable of carrying off such large prey. That an eagle would happily drop its prey strikes us as unusual since the bird would presumably be reluctant to do so. But this is no ordinary eagle for it drops the fawn next to Zeus' altar, which assures the Greek onlookers that the god himself sent the bird (*Il*.8.249-250). The eagle is a visible and tangible sign to the Greeks that Zeus' is committed to their cause. As a good omen the eagle emboldens the Greeks to attack with renewed vigour. It is not only the Greeks who receive an eagle omen from Zeus. In Book 24 Zeus sends his eagle to encourage Priam to retrieve the body of Hector:

[439] For the eagle and Ganymede section in the *Aeneid* refer to section 4.4.

> So Priam prayed, and Zeus the Counsellor heard him; immediately he dispatched an eagle, the most trustworthy omen among winged creatures, the dusky eagle, and the hunter that men also call the black eagle.
>
> (*Il*.24.314-316)

The appearance of the eagle confirms to Priam that his mission to and meeting with Achilles will turn out well. As with Agamemnon, here the eagle also suggests that the Trojan king enjoys a close bond with Zeus. It is important to draw attention to kingship in these two eagle-omen scenes. In both instances, it is kings who initiate the omen, and it is from the king of the gods that the eagle is sent.[440] As we saw previously with the lion omen heralding the birth of Pericles and Alexander (section 3.1), the eagle also came to be associated with royalty. The *Suda* preserves an anecdote that is attributed to Aelian about an eagle and Ptolemy I Soter.[441] 'As an infant Ptolemy was exposed on a brazen shield, but an eagle protected him from the sun and rain by covering the infant with its wings. Moreover the eagle brought the boy the blood of quails as nourishment' (Aelian fragment 283 = *Suda* L.25). The eagle in the story realises the importance of the infant and like the she-wolf of Romulus and Remus, cares for and nourishes an abandoned child. Since Lagus was not Ptolemy's father, perhaps we are to imagine that Zeus out of fatherly concern sent the eagle. Not unlike Mars who sent the she-wolf to the Roman twins.

In similes eagles are generally aligned with swiftness and determination. When Hector attacks the Greek ships in *Iliad* 15 he does so: 'like a fiery eagle rushes upon a flock of winged birds that are feeding along a river' (*Il*.15.690-691). The greatest of the Greek heroes is also likened to an eagle in his speed: 'Achilles, the son of Peleus, darted off as far as a spear-throw, having the swoop of a black eagle, the hunter' (*Il*.21.251-252).[442] This type of eagle simile is also found in the *Aeneid*. Turnus, for example, is compared to Jupiter's eagle swooping down on a hare

---

[440] The association between eagle omens and kings is clearly expressed in the chorus of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. In this passage the chorus recalls that a double omen appeared to Agamemnon and his brother Menelaus on the eve of their voyage to Troy: 'The kingly birds, one black and the other white on its tail, appeared to the kings of the ships, close by the palace, on the right hand, in a very conspicuous position, and they were eating a hare swollen with young ready to be born and caught at the moment of her last chance of escape' (*Agam*.114-120).

[441] Ptolemy I Soter (305 - 282 BCE) was the son of Lagus, a Macedonian general who married Arsinoe, a concubine of Philip II (Pausanias, *Grae.Desc*.1.1.1; Plutarch, *Moralia* 458b). Other accounts, however, recount that Ptolemy claimed that his mother Arsinoe was already pregnant by Philip II when she married Lagus (Curtius, *Hist.Alex.Mag*.9.8), thereby suggesting that he was a blood relative of Alexander the great. The poet Theocritus says that the Ptolemies descended from Hercules (*Id*.17.26-27), which suggests a familial bond with Phillip II and Alexander the great since their dynasty, the Argeads, claimed descent from Temenus, a great-grandson of Hercules (Pausanias, *Grae.Desc*.2.18.7; Apollodorus, *Bibl*.2.8.2).

[442] Recall the eagle-Menelaus simile of *Iliad* 17 discussed in chapter 1, section 1.4 above.

(*Aen*.9.563-566) and the Etruscan Tarchon is likened to an eagle combating with a snake (*Aen*.11.751-758).[443]

In one aspect the Romans afford the eagle a prominent position unique from their Greek counterparts. Undoubtedly it was the eagle's association with speed, determination and the king of the gods that precipitated the decision of Gaius Marius to inaugurate: 'it [the eagle] as the Roman legions' special standard during his second consulship' (*Nat*.*Hist*.10.5.16). This took place in 104 BCE and coincided with Marius' triumphal procession in the aftermath of the Jugurthine War (Keppie 1998:40). Prior to Marius' proclamation, the eagle was one of five animals that served as military standards: the wolf, bull, horse and wild boar (D'Amato 2018:9). Afterwards, however, the eagle become the sole standard that represented the entire legion. The eagle standard (*aquila*) was held in such importance that the *primus pilus* ('first centurion') was charged with protecting it (D'Amato 2018:9). The eagles on standards were depicted in a variety of poses. For example one of the eagles from Caesar's army shows an eagle with outstretched wings clutching thunderbolts in its talons in allusion to Jupiter (D'Amato 2018:14). They were either made of gold (Cassius Dio, *Rom*.*Hist*.43.35) or silver (Cicero, *Cat*.1.9.24; Pliny *Nat*.*Hist*.33.19.58), both costly metals.

In battle the eagle standard was carried by the *aquilifer* ('eagle-bearer'). He was stationed close behind the front line so that the eagle standard could be visible to as many troops as possible (D'Amato 2018:58). We can get an idea of the importance that ordinary soldiers attached to the a*quila* from Caesar's *De bello Gallico*. In the fourth book, we read of an unnamed *aquilifer* of Legio X who immortalised himself during the landing in Britain in 55 BCE:

> And while our men were hesitating, largely on account of the depth of the sea, the man who bore the eagle of the tenth legion implored the gods that the battle might turn out fortunately for the legion and then shouted, 'Jump overboard, brother-soldiers, unless you wish to betray the eagle to the enemy; I am resolved to fulfil my duty to the state and my general.' After he had spoken these words in a booming voice, he hurled himself from the ship and commenced to carry the eagle towards the enemy. Then our men, exhorting each other lest so great a dishonour be committed, all jumped overboard.
>
> (*De Bell*.*Gall*.4.25)[444]

[443] These two similes have already been discussed, see sections 5.7 and 2.8 above.
[444] From Mueller's Latin text (2012).

The *aquila* was the pride of a legion, and its loss was shameful. When the general Marcus Licinius Crassus was defeated by the Parthians at the Battle of Carrhae (53 BCE), the defeat was made worse by the capture of the army's eagles (Zanker 1988:186). Augustus led a campaign East against the Parthians and in 20 BCE he brokered a treaty with the Parthian King Phraates for the eagle's return (Zanker 1988:186). To house the returned eagles, Augustus constructed a new temple to Mars Ultor ('the Avenger') on the Capitol. The location of the temple was important since the Capitol was the heart of the city and home to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. This move left no doubt in the minds of the citizens about the grandeur of Augustus; he himself boasts of it in the *Res Gestae*: 'I placed those standards in the inner sanctum of the temple of Mars the Avenger' (*Res Gest*.29). The symbolic value of the eagles' return was such that the event was commemorated on the cuirass of the Prima Port statue (Zanker 1988:189). When we turn to the *Aeneid*'s eagles we shall find that Vergil adapted his eagle imagery to reflect Roman perceptions. His eagles are frequently martial and more often than not, they are the *Iovis armiger*.

6.2.2 Eagles in *Aeneid* 1

Eagles make their first appearance at the middle of Book 1. At his point in the epic, Aeneas is troubled: 'dutiful Aeneas pondered all night long over his many worries' (*Aen*.1.305). When he left Troy, he had 20 ships (*bis denis*, *Aen*.1.381) but on arriving at Carthage only seven remained (*Aen*.1.383). Of the missing 13 ships, the fate of only one is certain for: 'a huge sea-wave struck the ship, which carried the faithful Orontes and the Lycians, on the stern before the eyes of Aeneas himself' (*Aen*.1.113-115). At dawn the following day Aeneas and Achates set out to look for survivors when suddenly they are confronted by Venus, disguised as a Spartan girl (*Aen*.1.314-317). He identifies himself as *pius Aeneas* (*Aen*.1.378) and as he begins to recount his misfortune, the disguised Venus interjects telling him to make for Dido's city (*reginae ad limina prefer*, *Aen*.1.389), furthermore she draws his attention to an omen saying:

> Look at those twelve swans happily in line. Jupiter's eagle had swooped down from the sky and scattered them over the clear sky; now some of the swans appear to have settled in a long rank on the ground and others seem to be looking down on those already perched on the ground. As these swans, whirring their wings in play, have returned home, circling the heavens in a flock and giving their cry, so your ships and men are in harbour or draw near its entrance with full sail.
>
> (*Aen*.1.393-400)

The interpretation of the omen is simple. The men from the twelve ships, like the swans will reach the shore safely. Swans like doves are dear to Venus, and here they are used to symbolise the Trojans, her favourite race. The swans are happily arrayed (*laetantis agmine*, *Aen*.1.393) but as soon as the eagle swoops down they rout (*turbabat*, *Aen*.1.395). This image of an orderly flock recalls the three stags and their tranquil herd that Aeneas drives in panic into the woods (*Aen*.180-194).[445] The situation here, however, is markedly different. Though the eagle scatters the flock, the swans escape with some reorganising themselves into orderly ranks and others circling in the sky. This happy turn of events helps to raise the optimism of Venus' prediction. When we examine this eagle in the light of Homeric eagle omens, a Vergilian innovation comes to light. In Homer's eagle omens, the eagle frequently carries prey, such as a fawn (*Il*.8.245-252), a snake (*Il*.12.200-207) or goose (*Ody*.160-178), here, however, the eagle misses and fails to catch a swan. More unusual still is that the eagle is Jupiter's own (*Iovis ales*, *Aen*.1.394). Does this suggest that Jupiter is in some way opposed to Aeneas? This is unlikely since Jupiter in an earlier speech proclaimed to Venus that Aeneas' future is divinely guided (*Aen*.1.229-295). Perhaps we should understand

[445] For a translation and discussion on the deer passage, refer to section 4.2 above.

that the eagle fails to kill a swan precisely because it is Jupiter's bird and the god, as we know, has a vested interest in protecting Aeneas to ensure Rome's founding.[446] That this prophecy concerns more than just the safe return of Aeneas' ships and men, is suggested by the number of swans, twelve. When Romulus and Remus took the auspices to see who should be king, twelve birds appeared to the former, as Ennius writes:

> Twelve sacred figures of birds withdrew from the sky and went to favourable and well-omened places. From this, Romulus discerned that he alone was granted, as his own possession, the throne and territory of royalty, confirmed by the augury of birds.
>
> (*Ann.*1.80-100)

In light of the Romulus' passage the twelve swans take on a deeper meaning. They represent more than simply Aeneas' missing ships, they symbolise the founding of Rome. This interpretation may explain why Vergil chose to let the swans of Venus' prophecy escape the talons of Jupiter's eagle, for in ensuring the Trojans' safety, the god was preparing the way for Rome's foundation.

Immediately after interpreting the omen, Venus departs and reveals her true identity (*Aen*.1.402-405), a revelation that lends validity to the interpretation. James O'Hara notes that many omens in the epic are confirmed by the gods (1990:13), and thus when interpreted by mortals may be incorrect. This is important to remember since in Book 12 the augur Tolumnius incorrectly interprets an eagle-swan omen that causes the Rutulians to break the truce.

When Aeneas realises the 'Spartan girl' was his mother all long he is bitterly upset at her deception: 'you are too cruel. Why do you delude your son so often with false appearances?' (*Aen*.1.407-408). Why would Venus take on a disguise here, when in Book 2 she appears to him without a disguise (*Aen*.2.589-611) or when she gives him in person the armour made by Vulcan in Book 8 (*Aen*.8608-616)? James Burbidge suggests that Vergil intended to evoke the reader's pity with the deception (2010:59). The entire scene involves dramatic irony, since the reader is aware of the *virgo's* identity from the very beginning, this knowledge evokes pity in the reader since Aeneas only recognises his mother's identity when she departs (Burbidge 2010:59). The scene may also be alluding to Venus' talent for disguises. When Aeneas and Achates proceed to Carthage, Venus clouds them in a thick mist thus concealing their presence (*Aen*.1.411-414).[447]

---

[446] Although in the debate of Book 10 Jupiter says that he will show no favouritism to either the Trojans or Rutulians (*Aen*.10.1-117), his actions thoughout the epic suggest that Aeneas and Rome are never far from his thoughts. In Book 4 Jupiter orders Aeneas to leave Carthage and continue onto Italy (*Aen*.4.173-295), and in Book 9 he responds to the pleas of Cybele to protect the Trojan ships (*Aen*.9.80-92).

[447] Later in Book 1 Venus puts Ascanius/Iulus to sleep and makes Cupid take on his appearance (*Aen*.1.657-660; 683-688).

They invisibly enter Carthage where they see the missing from the twelve ships, at which point Achates says to Aeneas:

> Aeneas, son of a goddess, what thought is now rising in your heart? You see that everything is safe, our ships and companions are returned. One is missing, [Orontes], whom we ourselves saw plunge in the midst of the waves; all the rest is as your mother said it would be.
>
> (*Aen*.1.583-585)

The fulfilment of Venus' prophecy convinces Aeneas that all is not lost and spurs him on to his meeting with Dido, which culminates in Venus' plot with Juno to have the two meet in cave (*Aen*.90-128).

6.2.3 Eagles in *Aeneid* 12[448]

As with the first appearance of eagles in the *Aeneid*, the last also occurs in an omen involving swans. Here, however, the omen serves a different purpose. It serves not to inspire hope or to exult optimism but rather to deceive. Juturna, the sister of Turnus, sends an eagle omen to mislead the Italians into breaking the agreement for the duel between Turnus and Aeneas. Juturna at first incites the Rutulians with words while disguised as Camers (Aen.12.222-237), after which she points to the sky:

> Juturna then coupled with her words another greater motivation, and showed in the lofty sky a sign, no other more powerfully confused Italian minds, and so by this warning she deceived them. For Jove's golden bird, an eagle, was flying through the ruddy skies, and routing the birds of the sea-shore, chasing after them as they fled in confusion on their wings screaming, when suddenly he swooped down to the waves and ruthlessly seized a noble swan in his crooked talons. Astonishment seized the Italians, when—a marvel to see! —all the birds with a scream reversed their flight, and darkened the sky with their wings as they massed in a dense cloud and chased their foe through the sky, until, overcome by their attack and the weight of his prey, the eagle fainted, and from his talons flung his prey into the river, and retreated into the distant clouds. The Rutulians then hailed the augury with a shout and readied their hands for battle. The augur Tolumnius was the first to speak: 'This is the sign for which I have so often prayed. I accept it and discern the hand of the gods.'
>
> (*Aen*.12.244-260)

Once again Vergil calls the eagle *Iovis ales* (*Aen*.12.247) which would suggest the god's involvement. But this entire episode is the work of Juturna, a goddess who likely fabricated Jupiter's eagle to lend authenticity to the omen. The eagle proceeds to capture a swan (*cycnum*, Aen.12.250) which causes the others to turn about and pursue the attacker until it drops its prey and flees to the clouds (*in nubile fugit*, Aen.12.256). The reversal in fortunes is striking, for the eagle is an apex predator. This unusual outcome reminds us of the swans that safely escape the eagle in Venus' omen, yet here the crucial difference is that this omen is perpetrated by Juturna to deceive the Italians. This point is stressed by Vergil before the description of the omen begins (*quo non praesentius…fefellit*, *Aen*.12.245-246). The fact that the eagle in this omen at first grasps a swan in its talons may also suggest that the entire omen is sham, for in the *Aeneid* Jupiter's

[448] For the eagle references in books 5, 9 and 11 refer to sections 4.4, 5.7 and 2.8 respectively.

eagle only once harms a swan (*Aen*.9.563-566), and this in simile which compares the bird to Turnus.

That Vergil has introduced deception into this eagle omen is due to his innovation for in Homer the eagle brings true omens: in the *Iliad* an eagle drops a snake in the midst of the Trojan troops which Polydamus interprets as a warning not to attack the Greeks (*Il*.12.200-209).[449] In the *Odyssey* an eagle omen correctly predicts Odysseus' return and his defeat of the suitors when it kills twenty geese in the dream of Penelope (*Ody*.19.535-553).[450] Homer, in fact, only employs a false omen once (Kirk 1985:115): in Book 2 of the *Iliad* where Zeus sends a dream in the guise of Nestor to instruct Agamemnon to arm the Achaeans (*Il*.2.11-13). It is possible that Vergil may have adapted Homer's false omen when he was writing his own deceptive omen, the addition of the eagle was, however, his own. The motivating choice behind the eagle was surely the bird's association with Zeus/Jupiter and its known role as a bird of omens. Its addition in Juturna's deception lends her scheme authenticity much like the dream that assumes Nestor's shape convinces Agamemnon of its credibility.

Juturna's trickery is convincing as even Tolumnius the augur is persuaded of its trustworthiness, and in turn he interprets the omen for his fellow Italians saying:

> 'I shall lead you. Draw your swords, you wretches, whom a wicked foreigner frightens with war and whose shores he pillages with violence as if you were feeble birds. He will take to flight and spread his ships' sails on the distant ocean. But you must be of one mind and close up your ranks, and defend from the battle your king who has been carried away from you.'
>
> (*Aen*.12.260-265)

Based on the situation Tolumnius' interpretation appears correct, for reality neatly corresponds to the details of the omen (O'Hara 1990:86). Turnus in his decision to meet Aeneas in single combat has in effect been snatched away from his men, like the swan. One detail, however, unbeknownst

[449] For a discussion and translation of the relevant passage, refer to section 2.8 above.
[450] 'But come now, hear my dream and interpret it for me. I have twenty geese in the house that come back from the water and eat wheat, and I take delight in watching them; but a great eagle with a hooked beak came from the mountains and broke all their necks, killing them; and they lay strewn in a heap in the palace while he was carried up to the pure sky. Though it was only a dream, I wept and cried, and fair-haired Achaean ladies gathered around me as I wailed piteously because the eagle had killed my geese. But the eagle came back and perched on the jutting ridgepole, and with the voice of a man checked my tears, and said: "Take heart, daughter of far-famed Icarius; this is no dream, but a happy truth which you shall see fulfilled. The geese are the suitors, and I that was before the eagle of the omen am now again come back as your husband, and I shall set upon all the suitors a grim punishment." So he spoke, and sweet sleep left me; looking around I saw the geese in the palace, feeding on wheat by the trough, where they had before been accustomed to feed' (*Ody*.19.535-553).

to Tolumnius and the Italians does not correctly align with the prediction. Unlike the eagle, Aeneas will not be routed, but merely delayed until *Aeneid* 12.950-953 where he kills Turnus. In another example of dramatic irony, Vergil's readers are aware of an alternative and ultimately correct interpretation of the omen. For in Book 1 Venus had already revealed that the swan symbolises Aeneas thus the thwarted eagle of Book 12 is none other than Turnus. The Italians and Tolumnius are swayed by the false omen because of their perception. In their mind Turnus is not the cause of the conflict, he is the prey and hence the swan. The fact that the Italians interpret this omen as foretelling the survival of Turnus is significant for Book 12 opens with the image of the Italian hero as a wounded lion with a bloodied mouth (*ore cruento*, *Aen.*12.8) while in the epic's final animal image he is likened to a frightened stag (*cervum*, *Aen*.12.750). Thus the omen, which convinced the Rutulians and Tolumnius, fails to convince the epic's audience for we know without a doubt that Turnus is the not the swan, and that he will not survive the epic's end. It is also telling that in Book 9 Turnus is compared to an eagle (*Iovis armiger*, *Aen*.9.564) that has carried off a white swan (*candenti…cycnum*, *Aen*.9563).[451] Reading the omen with this earlier simile in mind the Rutulian perception of Turnus as the swan and hence the prey seems even less plausible. Juturna's deception answered Tolumnius' prayers and he in turn persuaded the Italians to forego the truce and help Turnus, but Vergil has left us clues so that we can see through the deception and understand the omen's true implications.

[451] Refer to section 5.7.

6.2.4 Conclusion

The eagle appears on six occasions within the *Aeneid*, and while Vergil's depiction of it resembles Homer's, the Roman poet adapted his eagle imagery in new ways. In the dramatic simile (*Aen*.11.751-758) in which Tarchon is likened to an eagle combating and carrying off a snake which represents Venulus, we see Vergil at work, for this simile is modelled on an eagle-snake omen from the *Iliad* (*Il*.12.200-209). In the Homeric version the eagle fails to kill the snake and drops at the feet of the Trojans, who interpret this reversal as a bad omen. In Vergil's hands the eagle is successful and stands for Trojan victory, for although Tarchon is an Etruscan, he fights for the Trojan cause.

In the ekphrasis of Ganymede's abduction (Aen.5.250-257), Vergil betrays his Roman roots, for he calls the bird *praepes* (*Aen*.5.254), which means not only 'swift' or 'nimble' but also 'auspicious', suggesting that the kidnapping of Ganymede was not an evil act. We have seen that the eagle was held in high regard among the Romans, especially in the military where the eagle standard had almost supernatural powers to inspire courage and if captured was sought to return, as happened in the aftermath of Carrhae.

In the simile of *Aeneid* 9.563-566, Turnus is likened to Jupiter's eagle carrying off a hare or swan. On the one hand this simile is fitting as the eagle suits Turnus who is a determined and skilled warrior—Homer already established this when he compared Achilles (*Il.*21.251-252), Hector (*Il.*15.690-691) and Menelaus (*Il.*17.673-678) to eagles—, on the other hand the simile foreshadows the eagle-swan omen of Juturna (*Aen.*12.244-260). In this omen, Juturna convinces Tolumnius and the Rutulians that Turnus is the swan, molested by the imperious eagle that represents Aeneas. We, however, should not be so easily convinced for we know that Turnus is no swan but an eagle. The clearest proof of Turnus' aquiline mantle, comes from the earlier eagle-swan omen of Book 1 (*Aen*.1.393-400). Here we learn from Venus herself that Aeneas and the Trojans are swans. A deeper and more intriguing interpretation, however, lies in the number of swans that escape the eagle. According to Ennius, Romulus saw twelve sacred birds, a sight which granted him the Roman throne, likewise in the omen, Aeneas and his ships are represented by twelve swans. This is surely no coincidence. The twelve swans are allowed to escape Jupiter's eagle so that Rome's founder could take the auspices. In this way, Jupiter's eagle was preparing the way for Rome's founding.

What sets Vergil's eagle apart from Homer's is its adaptability. As a simile it stresses determination and speed, and as an omen it can be false or true, depending on the interpreter.

As with the dove, lion and snake, the eagle is another prime example of Vergil's innovation of and contribution to epic animals, and illustrates the importance that animals play in the entire epic.

6.3 The Owl

6.3.1 The Owl in Greek and Roman Thought

Of all the animals we have looked at thus far none is more polarised than the owl. In the Greek world the owl was intimately associated with Athena and was encouraged to inhabit temples (Cenzato and Santopietro 1990:61; Arnott 2007:84), the Romans on the other hand viewed the bird with a suspicion. Of all the Greek city states, the owl was revered in Athens the most. The character, a sausage-seller, from Aristophanes' *Knights* reveals something of the special bond between the owl, Athena and the city: 'I thought I saw the goddess coming down from the Acropolis with an owl perched on her' (*Kn*.1092-1093). The bird did not only appear in Athenian literature but also in the arts as numerous vases made in the city, including amphoras given as prizes at the Panathenaic Games have been discovered (Arnott 2007:84).[452] Even the city's coinage immortalised the goddess' owl. The owl coins were introduced in 510 BCE with the advent of democracy in the city (Sear 1978:181). The design, which depicted the goddess' helmeted-head on the obverse and the owl on the reverse, proved popular, as for three and a half centuries the Athenian owl coins changed with only minor alterations (Darel 2005:363-364). Plutarch informs us that the coins were commonly known as 'Owls' in his *Lysander* when Gylippus' servant reveals that his master has hidden πολλὰς γλαῦκας ('many owls', *Lys*.16.2) under the tiling. The pervasive presence of the owl on Athenian coinage is likely the origin of the proverb γλαῦκ' Ἀθήναζ' ('[to bring] owls to Athens', *Bir*.301), which denotes a redundant undertaking (Arnott 2007:84).[453] John Pollard, on the other hand, suggests that the proverb's origin is thanks to the large number of owls that lived in the city, which the citizens encouraged to take up residence (1977:39).

How the owl came to be associated with Athena has caused much speculation (Morris 2009:23); the Greek word for owl, γλαύξ ('glaring one'), however, may provide an answer. The bird's name suggests that its primary characteristic was its keen eyesight, particularly at night. Added to this, the owl is nocturnal, which links it to the moon, which to the Greeks was the seat of knowledge (Cenzato and Santopietro 1990:61). The moon was also closely aligned with Athena as is evident from Athenian coins showing the goddess in profile with an accompanying crescent moon (Darel

[452] Alistair Harden remarks that a large number of these owl-themed vases were found on the Acropolis, which surely points to the religious importance attached to the owl (2014:33).
[453] Cicero uses this same expression in one of his letters to Quintus: 'an owl to Athens' (*Ep*. *ad Q.fr*.2.15). From Purser's Latin edition (1940).

2005:363). Taking the owl's keen nocturnal vision and its association with the moon, it is easy to see how the bird came to be associated with Athena. The association is old and is first made in Homer, who, as John Pollard notes refers to the goddess as γλαυκῶπις 'owl-eyed' on 92 occasions (1977: 144). In spite of these numerous references, Homer says little about the owl, for it only appears twice; once in Book 5 of the *Odyssey* where owls roost in trees near Calypso's cave (*Ody*.5.63-67), and again in Book 14 of the *Iliad* when the god Sleep assumes the shape of an owl to escape Zeus' notice:

> They [Hera and Sleep] came to Mt Ida with its many springs, the mother of wild beasts, and also to Lectum, where they first left the sea; and the two went onto the dry land, and the highest forest shook beneath their feet. There Sleep stopped, before the eyes of Zeus saw him, and climbed up a very tall fir tree, the highest that grew on Ida, and it reached through the air to heaven. He perched on it, thickly covered by the branches of the fir, in the shape of a clear-voiced bird of the mountains, which the gods call Chalcis and men Cymindis.
>
> (*Il*.14.283-291)

Pollard remarks that the meaning of both χαλκίς and κύμινδις is unknown (1977:82). He does, however, note that χαλκίς is usually taken to mean 'bronze-like', which he thinks is a good description of the colour of an eagle owl (Pollard 1977:82).The identity of κύμινδις is more difficult to ascertain. Aristotle, however, provides some insight. He says that the κύμινδις inhabited mountains and was rarely seen, he further adds that it was dark in colour and had a long and slender shape (*Hist*.*Anim*.9.12.615b6-11). Added to this Pliny the Elder says that it is a nocturnal predator (*Nat.Hist.*10.10.24). Applying this to the Homeric passage χαλκίς and κύμινδις appear to be two names for the same nocturnal bird, very likely an owl; how Homer describes the enigmatic bird lends further hints that he is in fact talking of an owl.[454] The passage describes how Sleep situates himself on a tall fir tree (*Il*.14.287) and then conceals himself in the tree's branches (*Il*.14.290). This behaviour, as Johansson notes, is very characteristic of owls that roost in trees during the daytime and are 'masters of camouflaging themselves' (2012:134). Richard Janko notes that Mt. Ida was home to other birds (falcons and doves, *Il*.15.237), yet Sleep chose to take the shape of an owl; an eminently suitable choice since by day the owl is sleepy (Janko and Kirk

[454] Most commentators agree that it is an owl. Boraston prefers long-eared owl (*Asio otus*) (1911:240-241). Pollard suggets that the bird's bronze colour resembles that of the eagle owl (*Bubo bubo*) (1977:81-82). More recently Arnott (2007:186) has argued that the χαλκίς-κύμινδις is either an eagle owl or a long-eared owl, both of which are dark-coloured and dwell in mountains (2007:186). Karin Johansson, on the other, suggests that the passage refers to the scops owl (*Otus scops*) (2012:134).

1994:196). Furthermore the bird is described as λιγυρῇ (‘clear-voiced’ or ‘shrill’, *Il.*14.290), which Johansson notes resembles the unique territorial call of the scops owl (2012:134). This call is very noticeable for its deep, short whistling ‘tyuh’ and can be heard for about one km (Johansson 2012:134). Although the species of owl is uncertain, it is very probable that the bird in question is an owl. For a more detailed understanding of the owl, however, we must examine Aristotle, whose knowledge of the bird is remarkably accurate. Aristotle, for example, correctly observed that owls hunt at night and that their prey consisted of mice and other small creatures:

> Owls and night ravens, and all the other birds that are unable to see during the daytime, hunt for their food at night, not through the whole night but at dusk and daybreak. They hunt mice, lizards, beetles, and other small animals.
>
> (*Hist.Anim.*9.34.619b19-21)

Desmond Morris notes that the diet of owls is varied but rodents in the form of voles, mice and rats make up a large number of their food intake (2009:157). The burrowing owl that inhabits North and South America has been observed hunting lizards and insects during the day (Morris 2009:185). Although this species of owl was unknown to Aristotle, his mention of lizards and beetles suggests that some Greek species of owl known to him hunted similar prey.

Owls, it would seem, hated crows, and this Aristotle claims is because they eat each other’s eggs:

> On account that the owl has poor sight during the day, the [crow] snatches it eggs away from under it and devours them, but at night the owl devours the crow’s eggs…
>
> (*Hist.Anim.*9.1.609a9-11)

This is incorrect as owls do not steal crow’s eggs but they have been observed to take up residence in abandoned crow’s nests (Cenzato and Santopietro 1990:61). Irrespective of Aristotle’s error, modern observers have remarked about the enmity between owls and crows, as well as other birds (Elphick et al. 2001:341). Jim Williams reported in a recent article about an incident at Lake Nokomis where a great horned owl was harassed by crows before killing one (Williams 2011).[455]

[455] The Sanskrit *Panchatantra*, a collection of Indian animal fables dating from the 3rd century CE, also describes the enmity between owl and crow (Morris 2009:78). In Book 3, the bird god Garuda attends the coronation of the owl as the new king of the birds. The crow, however, interferes with the solemn occasion and persuades Garuda to reconsider the owl’s kingship since he is blind by day when he should be ruling. Convinced by the crow’s argument, Garuda calls off the coronation to the owl’s anger and from this the hatred between owl and crow arose (Morris 2009:79).

The strangest part of owl lore that comes from Aristotle' *History of Animals* is what he says about how other birds behave around the owl if it comes out during the day:

> During the daytime all the other small birds flutter around the owl—a practice which is called 'admiring'—and flying towards it they pluck out its feathers. For this reason fowlers employ the owl as bait for catching all types of small birds.
>
> (*Hist.Anim.*9.1.609a9-13-16)

We might dismiss this as too fantastical yet a black-figure amphora from the 6th century BCE illustrates this phenomenon.[456] The vase depicts an owl tethered to pole under a tree (Morris 2009:166). A flock of small birds is shown fluttering around the owl with some of them settled on the tree's branches. On either side of the tree, fowlers are depicted who have smeared the tree's branches with bird-lime. Once landed on these sticky branches, the small birds become stuck and consequently are easily killed. Morris notes that small birds flock around the owl out of fear, hoping for safety in numbers (2009:168). Aristotle, on the other hand, uses a rather unusual word for describing this behaviour, θαυμάζειν ('admiring'). His comment reveals a certain amount of respect for the owl. It would seem that the birds flock around the owl not out of fear but out of some admiration. Aristotle may have perhaps been influenced by the positive connotations afforded to the owl; especially its association with Athena and wisdom. Thus the small birds flock around the owl because they admire its wisdom.

The positive reception that the owl received among the Greeks extended to omens as well. Plutarch recounts that the appearance of the bird during the Battle of Salamis was welcomed by the Athenians:

> It is said by some that while Themistocles was talking with some people from the deck of his ship, an owl was seen flying through the ships from the right and that it settled upon the halyards of his ship
>
> (*Them*.1.12)[457]

The omen proved fortuitous as the Persian fleet was annihilated at Salamis in 480 BCE (Treves 1961:789). The fact that it was an owl was also fitting since the island of Salamis had since the 6th century BCE been under the influence of Athens (Treves 1961:789); what more suitable bird

[456] Pliny also mentions small birds mobbing an owl. He says that owls use 'crafty combat' (*sollers dimicatio*, *Nat*.*Hist*.10.19.39) when outnumbered: 'lying on their backs, [owls] defend themselves with their talons, and gathering themselves up tightly, they are completely protected by their beak and talons' (*Nat*.*Hist*.10.19.39).
[457] From the Greek text of Bernadotte (1959-1967).

could have prophesised a Greek victory? The appearance of an owl was not only a welcomed sight during a naval engagement but also on the battlefield. The Greek historian Diodorus Siculus records that Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse let loose a flock of owls to inspire his troops:

> [The owls], flying through the battle-line and settling on the shields and helmets, emboldened the soldiers, each man took this as an omen because the bird is deemed sacred to Athena.
>
> (*Bil.Hist*.20.11.4-5)

This event took place in 310 BCE during Agathocles' Libyan Campaign when he attempted to break Carthage's blockage of Syracuse (Ehrenberg 1961:20). His troops had every right to fear for they were opposed by 'the Sacred Band of the Carthaginians' (*Bil.Hist*.20.11.1)—an elite company—and they were short of shields. The flock of owls, Diodorus Siculus relates, Agathocles had already prepared before the battle (ἃς ἐκ χρόνου παρεσκεύαστο, *Bil.Hist*.20.11.3). This 'omen' was carefully orchestrated by the tyrant to inspire his troops and in spite of its fabrication the soldiers' were encouraged that 'the goddess had clearly proclaimed them victory' (*Bil.Hist*.20.11.5).

In Rome, the goddess Minerva was identified with the Greek Athena, and like her Greek counterpart, the owl was also sacred to her. Although the owl was attached to Minerva, the owl did not enjoy such a welcome reception in Rome since there were already popular beliefs among the Romans that the owl was an evil bird and an omen of death. Aelian, for example, also comments on the owl's usefulness in attracting other birds, yet in his version the small birds do not 'admire' the owl but are mesmerised by its gaze:

> And even now during the day [the owl] brandishes another type of trap before birds to ridicule them, for it changes the expression of its face at different times; all the birds are charmed by the owl and remain stupefied, seized with fear…
>
> (*De Nat.Anim*.1.29)

Unlike Aristotle, who suggests that other birds when confronting an owl during the day 'admire' it, Aelian paints a very different picture. His owl appears to possess a deadly gaze and has a supernatural ability to mesmerise less powerful birds. However farfetched this seems, it may be based on factual observations. It has been observed that owls can dramatically changes their appearance. During the day the owl will often compress its feathers, close its eyes and raise its ear-tufts to aid camouflage (Elphick et al. 2001:341). At night, however, it extends it feathers, lowers its ear-tufts and opens its eyes wide (Elphick et al. 2001:341). In the light of this, Aelian's

comment suggests that the owl was viewed as a master of deception that could transform its appearance at will to bewitch other birds. That the owl's ability is magical is hinted at by Aelian, who in an earlier sentence says: 'the owl is a cunning creature and is like a witch' (*De Nat.Anim*.1.29.)

The connection between owl and witch is strong in Latin literature. The Latin word *strix* usually signifies 'screech owl' but can also mean 'witch' or 'evil spirit' (Lewis and Short 1980:1767).[458] The earliest appearance of the *strix* is in Plautus' *Pseudolus*, named for the chief character, a clever slave who aids his master with his love life. The scene where *strix* is mentioned takes place inside a kitchen where the cook is scolding his underlings:

> Cook: These men, when they prepare dinners, when they do season them, season them not with spices, but with screech owls which corrode the guts of the guests while they are still alive.
>
> (*Ps*.3.2.819-821)[459]

The joke would fail if the audience did not understand what a *strix* does; it devours the innards of the living, just as bad cooking irritates people's bowls. The clearest reference linking *strix* and witches comes from Ovid's *Fasti*. In his description of the nymph Carna, we are told that Janus gave her a whitethorn wand (*spinam*, *Fast*.6.129) with which she could ward off evil birds from doors:

> There are voracious birds, not those that robbed Phineus' gullet of its meal[460], but they are descended from those. Their heads are big, their eyes staring, their beaks are fit for plundering, their wings are grey and their talons are fitted with claws. They fly by night and attack children who have no nurses, and, snatched from their cradles, they defile their bodies. It is said that they tear apart the entrails of sucking children with their beaks, and they have throats that are full of the blood which they have drunk. Their name is screech owl, but the reason for their name is that they are accustomed to screech horribly at night. Whether, therefore, they are born as birds, or become so through enchantment and are simply crones transformed into birds by Marsian incantations, they entered the bedroom of Proca.
>
> (*Fast*.6.131-142)[461]

[458] It is worthwhile to note that modern Romance languages such as Italian and Romanian have derived their own words from the Latin *strix*: *strega* is the Italian word for witch (Collins Italian to English Dictionary 2020), while *srigoi* is the Romanian word for 'ghost' or 'vampire' (Bantaş 1995:253)
[459] From the Latin text of Nixon (1980).
[460] This is a reference to the Harpies, see *Aen*.3.225-228.
[461] From the Latin text edited by Ehwald (1884).

That Ovid is describing an owl is plainly clear: the large head with goggle eyes and the grey feathers leave no room for ambiguity. Although Ovid admits that he does not know whether they are in fact birds or merely crones become birds, this passage does illustrate that the owl was attributed with great malevolence, in fact, resembling a vampire of later Slavic folklore.[462]

Owls were not only viewed as malevolent supernatural creatures, but were also associated with funerals, as Pliny explains:

> The eagle owl is a funereal bird and it is detested as an extremely bad omen, particularly at public auspices; it inhabits deserts and places that are not only desolate but also terrifying and inaccessible; it is a monster of the night…
>
> (*Nat.Hist.*10.16.34)

Pliny's language is strong. He describes the owl as a thoroughly evil bird that inhabits wastelands and adds that its appearance is an unwelcome sight. The description suggests that the owl was a deeply mistrusted bird among the Romans. Even the cries of the owl are worthy of fear as Pliny says: 'its call is not melodious but a scream' (*Nat.Hist.*10.16.34). It is interesting to contrast this description with the noisy owls of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* who keep one of the characters awake:

> But, wretched me, I am dying for want of sleep because of the incessant hooting of owls.
>
> (*Lys.*760-761)

Here the hooting is merely a nuisance unlike the ominous scream in Pliny's description. From what we have seen in Aelian and Pliny, the Romans appear to have held an entrenched and strong dislike for the owl. This opinion is reinforced by the measures employed to expiate the appearance of one owl on the Capitol in 43 CE:[463]

> During the consulship of Sextus Palpellius Hister and Lucius Pendanius an [owl] entered the very sanctuary of the Capitol, and on this account a purification of the city was celebrated on the 7th of March in that year (43 CE).
>
> (*Nat.Hist.*10.16.35)

[462] Pliny also expresses doubt over what type of bird a *strix* is, but he does say: 'it is agreed that from ancient times the *strix* has been used in curses' (*Nat.Hist.*11.95.232).
[463] Gallivan 1978:408.

This behaviour is in stark contrast to that of the Athenians who were only too happy for the bird to inhabit the Acroplis (Cenzato and Santopietro 1990:10-11). In a similar vein, whereas the owl was interpreted as an auspicious omen among the Greeks, the Romans saw the appearance of the bird as foreshadowing death. Ovid makes an owl herald the death of Julius Caesar in the *Metamorphoses:* 'in a thousand places the Stygian owl brought with it sorrowful omens' (*Metam.*15.791). The association between the owl and impending death features prominently in the *Metamorphoses*' predecessor the *Aeneid* too, chiefly with Dido, to whom we now turn.

6.3.2 Owls in *Aeneid* 4

The first owl we meet in the *Aeneid* appears in Book 4 where the bird hoots mournfully over the rooftops while Dido, saddened by Aeneas' desertion, reminisces over her dead husband, Sychaeus:[464]

> Moreover there was in the palace a marble shrine, erected to the memory of her first husband, to which she showed exceptional devotion by dressing it with snowy fleeces and festive garlands: from the shrine she seemed to hear cries as if her husband was calling to her while night covered the earth in darkness; and often on the rooftops a lonely owl lamented with a dirge, drawing out its cries into a long lament; beyond this the many oracles of ancient seers struck her with dreadful warning.
>
> (*Aen*.4.457-465)

In the light of what Pliny says about the *bubo* (Section 6.3.1 above) it comes as no surprise that Vergil chose this specific bird in this scene of death. The focus on the owl's sombre character is emphasised by the sound it makes (Gowers 2016:108). The repetition of the 'o-sounds' in *solaque* ('alone') and *bubo* ('owl') of line 462 (*solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo*) signify a 'long-drawn-out' or reverberating scream (Gowers 2016:108). This is picked up in line 463 where the words *saepe* ('often') and *longas…ducere voces* ('draw out long cries') draw the reader's attention to the gloomy syllables (Gowers 2016:108). The owl's cries are not only mournful but also frightening as there is 'a disturbing continuity between [Sychaeus'] *voces* and those of the owl' (Schiesaro 2008:107). This resemblance has lead Alessandro Schiesaro to argue that the owl is nothing less than Sychaeus, who has come back from the dead to reclaim her (*vocantis* / *viris*, *Aen*.4.460-461) (Schiesaro 2008:107). Although Dido's actions at the shrine indicate her devotion to her husband, she betrayed his memory in her passion with Aeneas. At the beginning of the fourth book she had promised faithfulness: 'he who first joined himself to me has taken away all my love' (*Aen*.4.28-29). Her guilt it would seem has now come back in the form of an avenging owl whose drawn-out cries foreshadow Dido's own death. The premonition of the seers, which had been silenced during her love affair with Aeneas, resurfaces as Dido realises (too late) her

[464] Vergil calls her husband by this name in Book 1: 'Sychaeus was her spouse' (*Aen*.1.343).
Other authors such as Justin says that his name was Acherbas (*Epit.HIst.Phil*.18.4); Servius on the other hand suggests that Vergil changed his original name, Sicarbas, to Sychaeus to better suit the epic's metre (*Comm.Verg.Aen*.1.343).

mistake. Emboldened by the owl's dirge and strengthened by the dream of Orestes pursued by his snake wielding mother, Dido at last dies:[465]

> And in the midst of her words, she fell upon a sword. Her companions witnessed her fall and saw the blood-soaked blade and her bloodied hands.
>
> (*Aen*.4.663-665)

[465] For the Orestes passage refer to Section 2.3 above.

6.3.3 Owls in *Aeneid* 12

In the *Aeneid*'s final owl appearance, we return to the Furies. In the following passages, which are a continuation of the Megaera-snake paragraph (see Section 2.9 above), Jupiter sends one of the Furies firstly to paralyse Turnus and secondly to make known to his sister, Juturna, that she can no longer lend him aid. The Fury's first task is to assume the form of a small bird and fly into Turnus' face:

> When [the Fury] saw the Trojan ranks and the columns of Turnus, she at once shrank into the form of a small bird, which at times perches on tombs or deserted roof-tops at night and ominously hoots through the shadows till late at night. Changing into this shape, the Fury flew screeching to and fro in front of Turnus' face and beat his shield with her wings. A strange numbness crippled his limbs with dread, and his hair stood on end with terror and his voice stuck fast in his throat.
>
> (*Aen*.12.861-868)

The Fury is unnamed, yet I suggest Allecto is the likely attacker. When we first meet her in Book 7, Vergil tells us that she is a mistress of disguise (*tot sese vertit in ora*, *Aen*.7.328). Added to this, she has already worked her malice on Turnus when her appearance caused his limbs to quake with fear (*subitus tremor occupat artus*, *Aen*.7.446).[466] Her attack on the Rutulian hero here is no less crippling. She assumes the shape of a small bird (*alitis…parvae*, *Aen*.12.862); the description that follows leaves no doubt as to the bird's species. It inhabits tombs and deserted places, and hoots ominously (*importuna*, *Aen*.12.864). This is a charged word as it means not only 'inauspicious' but also suggests 'hopelessness' (Fowler 1919:151).[467] The effects of the owl's attack neatly aligns with the hopelessness implied by *importuna*. Turnus is rendered lame and his body's response is equally debilitated. Thanks to the Fury's intervention, Turnus is brought to his knees and is now entirely defenceless against Aeneas.

That Vergil chose an owl is interesting, for he could have presumably made the Fury change into any small bird to irritate Turnus.[468] The owl, as we have seen, was viewed as an evil omen among the Romans; an omen foretelling death. Like the owl at the shrine of Sychaeus which foreshadows

---

[466] For reference to these two earlier appearances see Section 2.6.
[467] Compare the *importunae volucres* of *Georg*.1.470 which prophesy Caesar's death and are ill-omened because they offer no hope of survival.
[468] The species of owl has sparked some debate. Servius says: '[Vergil] means little owl, not eagle owl; for he says "into a small bird": the eagle owl, however, is larger' (*Comm.Verg.Aen*.12.863).
Warde Fowler (1919:151) is also in favour of the little owl. On the other hand Pliny's comments about the eagle owl so resemble Vergil' description that the *Bubo bubo* would not be out of place.
See Emily Gowers for further arguments (1990:121).

Dido's impending demise, this owl foreshadows Turnus' own death. This interpretation of the owl is strengthened by the words of Juturna, who witnesses the bird and realises Turnus' death is a foregone conclusion:

> 'What help, Turnus, can your sister offer you now? Or what now remains for my wretched self? By what art can I extend your life's light? How can I singly oppose such an unearthly monster? Even now I abandon the battlefield. Malevolent birds, frighten me no more in my terror. I know well the flap of your wings and your death-knell screech; the harsh decrees of great-hearted Jupiter do not escape my notice.'
>
> (*Aen*.12.872-878)

As her words reveal, Juturna immediately recognises the futility of trying to protect Turnus. She knows who sent the hellish bird; Jupiter, who for the price of her virginity gave her immortality (*haec pro virginitate reponit*, *Aen*.12.878). That immortality she has now come to resent for if she cannot save her brother at least she could have followed him to the Underworld (*comes ire per umbras*, *Aen*.12.881). Embittered she covers her head with a grey mantle *et se fluvio dea condidit alto* ('and buries herself in the depths of her own stream', *Aen*.12.886). The action of veiling her face and the choice of colour are also indicative of mourning.[469] Hence we are reminded once again of the mournful owl. Abandoned by his last ally and condemned by Jupiter himself, Turnus has to now face Aeneas, knowing that his death, foretold by the Fury-owl, is certain.

[469] Plutarch notes that during the funeral procession daughters escorted their parents with uncovered heads (*Quaest*.*Rom.*14). This appears to challenge Vergil's depiction of Juturna's gesture, yet later in the *Quaestiones Romanae* 26, Plutarch suggests that women wore white headdresses while mourning. Although Juturna's *amictus* (mantle, *Aen*.12.885) is grey rather than white as Plutarch describes, her gesture indicates a woman in mourning. The *amictus* was also known as the *ricinium* (mantilla, Varro *L*.*L*.5.132), which was especially associated with female mourning (Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones 2007:127). The colour, grey, was likewise, appropriate to female funerary clothing (Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones 2007:127).

6.3.4 Conclusion

Although the owl plays a minor role in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, what Homer says about the bird aligns with general ideas about the owl's close association with Athena; recall that on 92 occasions, the goddess is explicitly called γλαυκῶπις. When Homer does refer to a 'real' owl it has nothing of the negative and ominous associations that we find in the Roman literature. Pliny and Aelian go to great lengths to characterise the owl as evil, sinister, and associated with witches. When we look at Vergil's owl, we can plainly see that he was influenced by Roman notions about the bird; specifically its association with foreboding and death. Bearing this in mind, it comes as no surprise that Vergil choose this bird to feature in passages dealing with Dido and Turnus, Aeneas' two chief 'hurdles' in the Odyssean and Iliadic halves of the *Aeneid* respectively. For a Roman reader would immediately read the symbolic meaning, much like Juturna herself when she saw the wings and heard the screech of the *obscenae volucres* (*Aen*.12.876).

The owl, like so many of the other animals that have been examined so far, is an example of Vergilian epic innovation. The owl enjoyed a good reputation among the Greeks as a bird that, on account of its perceived wisdom, was admired by other feathered creatures as Aristotle notes. On the battlefield it was a welcomed sight that inspired Greek troops, as we saw with the tales of Themistocles and Agathocles. Of all the Greek states, Athens it seems valued the owl most going so far as to encourage the bird to roost in the roofs of her temples. Although the Roman Minerva was identified with the Greek Athena and came to assume many of her trappings, the owl did not find as welcome a reception among the Romans. To them the owl was evil, a creature that inhabits graves and deserted places, and a fiend of the night. The *Aeneid*'s owls carry all these negative connotations and serve to heighten the unease, dread and lugubriousness surrounding the deaths of Dido and Turnus. It also serves as a thematic link between these two antagonists to Aeneas' quest and heightens the tragedy of the epic's ending.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The animals of the *Aeneid* play a variety of roles and express a multitude of ideas. Many of these had their origin in Homer, but changing opinions about animals as revealed in Aristotle, in Roman cultural beliefs and as later attested to by Pliny ensured that the *Aeneid*'s animals were not simply copies of Homeric originals; Vergil reinvented and manipulated epic animals in such a way as to make them his own, and even made new additions to the epic repertoire such as the tiger and hippomanes (section 1.3). Of Vergil's innovations, there are four aspects that are especially noticeable: 1) Vergil presented greater insight into the emotions and thought processes of animals than his predecessors; 2) he frequently aligned his depiction of animal behaviour with those found in natural histories; 3) he used animals as a means of drawing attention to various conflicts, such as that between nature and civilisation, man and woman, and foreigner and native, and 4) he represented certain animals through a Roman lens, stressing their unique role in Roman mythology and superstition. In this way, Vergil not only uses animals as verbal illustrations, but as agents and commentators in their own right.

7.1 Emotions and Thought Processes

Vergil's handling of the snake (section 2.2) in the Androgeos-snake simile is a perfect example of his change in focus in his use of animal imagery as well as his insight into what may be deemed an animal's character. He accurately describes how a snake would react to being trodden on; it rises and swells its neck. This is in contrast to the snake from a similar simile in Homer. The focus of the Homeric simile is on the unnamed man not the snake. The snake is merely presented as a lurking threat and it takes no action against the unwelcomed interloper. Vergil's snake, however, reacts and responds in a way that a real snake might in a similar situation. This attention to realism strongly suggests that Vergil considered animal behaviour when creating his epic animals. Moreover, Vergil describes the snake's emotion; the snake is *iras* (angry, *Aen*.2.381). Thus Vergil shows us not only the physical responses of a snake to being trodden on, but also its emotional response. We see the same emphasis on snake behaviour in the *Aeneid* in the Pyrrhus-snake simile (section 2.2.). Here the snake raises its breast and curves its back as it leaves its hole where it hibernated for the winter. Its serpentine tongue also darts forth from its mouth. With these actions, Vergil creates the impression that this snake is happy to be free after its winter slumber, and that it is ready to pursue prey; all the more, since it is stuffed with poisonous herbs.

A similarly more nuanced depiction of an animal may be seen in Vergil's take on lions. The lion, which in Homer is characterised by blind rage, is presented in a different light in the *Aeneid*. The lions of Circe for example (section 3.7) roar against their chains and one can feel their rage and frustration at being locked inside bodies not their own. When Vergil does employ the Homeric lion, he does so by drawing attention to the animal's perspective. It is not a senseless killer but attacks out of hunger, an understandable reaction also from a human perspective, as we saw in the Nisus-lion simile (section 3.9). Likewise the two Turnus-lion similes of the *Aeneid* (section 3.9 and 3.11) do not show a determined or particularly brave lion as one would expect, but rather a lion that is unsure of its strength and seems to deliberate in a very human way. In the first Turnus lion simile we find a lion torn between fighting and fleeing. We gain a sense of the creature's frustration for its anger and courage (*ira*…*virtus*, *Aen*.9.795) compel it to stay and fight. In spite of these powerful emotions, the lion surrounded by the spears of hunters, decides to flee and live to fight another day. This change of heart indicates that the lion is capable of weighing its options; it is not merely a slave to its instincts. This type of characterisation is something we do not see in Homer. Vergil, however, was concerned with it a great deal. The effect of Vergil's approach gives his lions a more life-like and three-dimensional quality. In the second Turnus-lion simile we can also see evidence of Vergil's more nuanced characterisation. Here we find a lion that would rather not have engaged in conflict. It only attacks when provoked by the hunters, but does so gladly (*gaudet*, *Aen*.12.6). This complicates our reading of Turnus as it suggests that he is not an aggressor, but merely responds to aggression. The effect of this is that Turnus is not cast in an entirely negative light; there is something admirable about his character.

Moving from predators to prey, the timid deer of Homer is likewise reworked by Vergil to great effect. In the first animal appearance of the epic we meet a herd of deer led by three stags (section 4.2.). They are depicted as orderly, grazing in formation, but as soon as Aeneas kills the three leaders, the orderly herd runs amok into the woods. This raises not only our sympathy but also shows us that deer can organise themselves and are conscious of their surroundings. The focus of the hunting scene is clearly on the stags and herd, less attention is paid to the human characters. This change in focus is also something new in Vergil. In Homer deer represent speed and timidity. The Greek poet does not venture into characterising deer at any length. Vergil, on the other hand, does and does so marvellously. Take for instance the stag-dog simile of Book 12 (section 4.7). The language of the passage creates in the reader a true feeling of the stag's fear at being trapped and of the dog's nearing jaws. This stag is not simply a symbol of fear, as we would find in Homer, but is a character expressing fear with as much emotion as a human counterpart.

The most poignant example of Vergil's humanised deer is undoubtedly that of Silvia's pet stag (section 4.6). Vergil describes the stag's wounded state in terms that resemble the anguish of a person (*imploranti similis*, *Aen*.7.502). This simile takes on greater significance if one recalls that the stag is the tenor of the simile while the human is the vehicle. This deviation places the stag at the centre of the entire passage and heightens the pain felt by Silvia at its death, for to her it is not simply the death of an animal but of a beloved companion who is on par with humans.

Like the deer, the dove is also characterised by Vergil in terms of its emotions. Homer, however, says nothing of the bird's emotions; to him it simply represents timidity and the feminine. During the archery contest of Book 5 (section 6.1.3) we feel along with the dove an entire gambit of emotions. First, freedom when the bonds are broken by Mnestheus' arrow, and then sorrow, when Eurytion kills her among the stars of heaven. In this scene Vergil has gone to great lengths to create pathos for the dove, and like Silvia's stag, we cannot help but be unsettled by her death.

In addition to the emotional aspect we also find instances of animals acting against their instincts and displaying human characteristics. The she-wolf (section 5.2), it seems, did not feed the twins simply out of motherly instinct, but rather because she understood their importance, which suggests that she was both capable of rational thought and had insight into the future.

The fact that the Romans employed animals in the arena and kept many of them as pets likely influenced Vergil in his characterisation of animals. His animals are fully developed creatures. They think and they feel. They are not simply stock figures but agents that respond to pain, that rage against capture, that exhibit joy and that think. What emerges from this is that the animals of the *Aeneid* are humanised through their emotions and thought processes, and in turn become just as memorable and just as deserving of pathos as any human character.

7.2 Scientific and Cultural Alignment

The influences of post Homeric animal lore as reflected in the works of Herodotus, Aristotle and Pliny, in retrospect, can clearly be seen in the *Aeneid*. Vergil did not merely employ Homeric animals, he adapted them to reflect the greater amount of animal lore that was available to him. Vergil may have been motivated to do this by a sense of realism, that is to say to make his animal imagery more appealing to a more informed audience.

In the animal repertoire of Homer we find some examples of accurate descriptions about animals, such as the lion attacking livestock (section 3.1) or the wolf threating sheep (section 5.1), but

these descriptions do not venture into describing the animals' habits, behaviour or character at length. Vergil, in contrast, goes to great lengths to give a more detailed picture of animals. The snake for example, which Homer presents as simply a threat receives an entirely different reception in Vergil. The snake at the tomb of Anchises is neither venomous nor dangerous, it eats of the sacrificial meal and departs in peace (section 2.4). Aeneas interprets this snake as the genius of the place or his father's attendant spirit. This innovation bears a close similarity to the account of Herodotus who informs us about the guardian snake on the Acropolis (section 2.1). Even more revealing is Pliny's story about the snake that guarded an olive tree planted by Scipio Africanus (section 2.1). Vergil, it seems, was influenced by post-Homeric accounts and tales about snakes and as a consequence adapted his serpentine imagery to reflect this.

That Vergil looked to non-epic sources for his animal lore seems even more probable when we examine the lion. The Homeric lion is aligned with Achilles or other heroes and as a symbol it represents determination and aggression (section 3.1). We do find examples of such lions in the *Aeneid*, however, there are also notable differences. Vergil's lion shows hesitation, it roars and its mouth is bloodied (sections 3.7; 3.9; 3.11). This more detailed description of the lion is likely due to the animal's popularity in the Roman arena. Pliny tells us that the Roman public's demand for animal spectacles was so great that it influenced the ballot box (section 3.2). The pervasive appearance of the lion in the arena probably served as the inspiration for Vergil's own leonine imagery.

The way in which Vergil handled the deer is also a notable departure from Homer, who uses the animal as a symbol for fleetness (section 4.1). The pet stag of Silvia (section 4.6) does not have a counterpart in Homeric epic, we do, however, have examples from historical accounts. Plutarch tells us of the white fawn that was given to the Roman general Quintus Sertorius (section 4.1.) and Varro says that Quintus Hortensius kept stags in an enclosure that he had trained to respond to the call of a horn (section 4.1).

The owl deserves special mention for it is the best example of Vergil's departure from Greek cultural associations. The owl was a welcomed sight on the battlefield as Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus note and it was intimately associated with Athena (section 6.3.1). The Romans also aligned the bird with their own Minerva, but there was a longstanding tradition among them that the owl was an omen of death. Moreover, the bird was also associated with the *strix*, a supernatural creature that devours the innards of people (section 6.3.1). The negative perception of the owl is strongly felt in the *Aeneid*, where it is associated with the death of Dido (section 6.3.2) and the Fury Allecto (section 6.3.3).

On the other hand, Vergil sometimes disregarded what the natural historians said about animals. The Umbrian dog to which he compares Aeneas is an example of this (section 4.7). Varro and Grattius note this breed's unsuitability for hunting. The Molossian and Laconian breeds, both known to Vergil, would have been more suitable choices within the simile's context. Perhaps this suggests that the 'hounding' of Turnus was not really in Aeneas' nature, but rather that circumstances drove him to it. The Umbrian, on the other hand, was a uniquely Italian breed, and its provenance, within the simile's context, is of chief importance for it reinforces Aeneas' ties to Italy.

Whereas Homer does offer some insight into animal behaviour it is hardly scientific. He does not venture into describing the social organisation of a herd of deer or the bloodied grimace of a lion. Vergil on the other hand does. To what extent Vergil was acquainted with Aristotle's works is unknown, yet it is undeniable that Aristotle's knowledge about animals had reached Rome by the time of the *Aeneid*'s composition. Pliny is even further removed from Vergil in time, yet many of Pliny's observations are in fact much older than the date of his *Naturalis Historia*. In an examination of this kind it is impossible to reach Vergil's sole and indisputable source. All that can be shown is that a store of animal lore existed and that Vergil's animal realism had an antecedent. Nonetheless, Vergil's contribution to literature in regards to realism is undeniable. The lion and deer stand out especially. These two animals featured prominently in Roman society; the lion in the arena and the deer as a pet. Here we may have instances of first-hand knowledge for Vergil could have seen the lion in a spectacle or could have viewed a deer in zoological garden like that of Hortensius. This leads to Vergil's more nuanced and sympathetic depiction of these animals whose suffering he might well have witnessed.

7.3 Humankind against Nature

Vergil was interested in the essential qualities of 'civilisation.' In Book 1 we see a herd of deer existing in peace, in their natural setting (section 4.2). Yet their peace is upset by the introduction of Aeneas as a hunter. His 'civilising' effects of hunting have disastrous outcomes which suggests that civilisation comes at a heavy price. In a similar vein the death of the pet stag (section 4.6) also highlights the disastrous effects of hunting. Taken together the *Aeneid*'s deer hunts stress that the hunters are seldom aware of the havoc their acts cause.

On the other hand, Vergil is not an enemy of law and order for the association between Cybele's lions (sections 3.4; 3.10) and Hercules (section 3.8) and Aeneas suggests that the poet recognised its value. Aeneas is never likened to a lion. The only time he is aligned with the creature is through its skin (sections 3.8; 3.10). The fact that Aeneas is associated with lion skins and the tame lions of Cybele strongly suggests that he has control over the beast. His enemy, Turnus, who is compared to a lion on three occasions (sections 3.9; 3.10; 3.11) represents disorder which the Trojan hero has come to rectify and 'civilise.'

In Book 11, Vergil addresses the question of whether a heroine is the equal of a hero (section 6.1.5). The simile used is unusual since against our expectations, the son of Aunus is compared to a dove, which in Latin is the feminine noun *columba*. The heroine Camilla is the masculine hawk (*accipiter*). In deliberately confusing the genders, Vergil made a poignant critique. Aunus' son foolishly thought he could best Camilla, yet she is more than his equal; a mistake that costs him his life. Camilla is herself an enigma for raised on the milk of mares in the wilds, she engages in a realm usually reserved for men. As with the reversal of avian genders, Vergil again uses an animal to draw attention to the maiden's ambiguous nature. In her confrontation with Ornytus (section 5.8), who wears a wolf's head as helmet, she is placed in the position of prey such as a deer. In a normal hunt, wolf-headed Ornytus would easily have been victor as his armour is testament to his skill as a huntsman. Camila, however, is no ordinary quarry. She is more than the hunter's equal going so far as to ask 'did you think you were hunting wild beasts in the forest?' (*Aen*.11.686).

Vergil also uses animals to pit foreigner against native. In the mouth of Dido, the tiger becomes a form of abuse against Aeneas, underpinning his foreignness (section 1.3). In a similar vein, Turnus is compared to a Carthaginian lion in the opening lines of Book 12 (section 3.11). This moniker serves to identify Turnus' with Rome's enemies as well as stress that his cause is un-Roman. Snakes are also used to foreignise. Their appearance together with Anubis on Aeneas' shield draw attention to Cleopatra's Egyptian origin, which stands opposed to the Roman gods of Augustus (section 2.7). This brands the Egyptian queen as an enemy of Rome and legitimatises Augustus' actions against her.

By using animals Vergil examined the benefits and costs of civilisation. Vergil, I would argue, was on the side of civilisation yet the costs to the 'uncivilised', in this case, animals did not escape his notice. The peaceable herd of deer has to make way for civilisation but at the cost of their lives and community. Silvia's stag is also a prime example of the consequences of humankind's interference in nature.

Vergil also used animals to explore human conflicts. In the interactions between Aeneas and Turnus, animals pitted against one another, such as the stag and Umbrian hound (section 4.7), give depth to the conflict. Their absence would be conspicuous. Similarly, animals brand some as a foreigner more eloquently than mere words could suffice. Vergil's use of animals to express human conflicts and his use of animals to examine questions of civilisation represent something new in epic, it does not have a Homeric antecedent. This novelty reemphasises the importance that animals play in interpreting and understanding the *Aeneid*. They often have more to 'say' than their human co-actors.

7.4 Roman-ness

Roman-ness casts a long and enduring shadow over the *Aeneid*. The opening lines of the *Aeneid* state that this epic, unlike the *Iliad* is not centred on one man but rather on the Roman race (section 1.6). This is continually reinforced by the placement of clothing, institutions and values of Vergil's contemporary Rome in the mythical past. More importantly than this, however, is the appearance of animals that held significance to the Romans in the epic.

The white sow of Lavinium for example, which writers such as Varro, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy mention, is found in Book 3 of the *Aeneid* (section 1.6). Its placement at a point in time when Aeneas was crestfallen about the success of his mission serves to reassure him while at the same time serves to communicate to Vergil's audience the origin of their race.

The most prominent Roman animal, however, is undoubtedly the she-wolf. We first her meet in Book 1 where Romulus wears her skin (section 5.2). She appears in Book 8 (section 5.6) where she is depicted on Aeneas' shield nursing the twins in the Cave of Mars. The inclusion of the she-wolf in the *Aeneid*, serves to show an unbroken line beginning with Aeneas and ending with the founders of the city. Vergil may also have been motivated to include the she-wolf because the wolf held a prominent position in both Etruscan and Sabine mythology (section 5.1). The unity of Italy was a relatively recent concept by the time of the *Aeneid*'s composition, so by including the wolf in the *Aeneid*, Vergil created a symbol that appealed to Romans and Italians alike; a symbol that represented a shared heritage and that stressed that Rome was not only for Romans but all Italians.

The eagle too suggests Roman-ness. In the prophecy of Book 1, we find twelve swans escaping the talons of Jupiter's eagle (section 6.2.2). The fact that the eagle fails to capture a swan

concerns more than just the safe return of Aeneas' ships, for the number twelve is significant. Ennius tells us that Romulus saw twelve birds and as a consequence of this favourable omen was granted the Roman kingship. In the light of this, the prophecy of Jupiter's eagle and the twelve swans takes on a deeper meaning. The eagle fails because Jupiter ordered so. The god was preparing the way for the city's foundation.

Although Aeneas is the *Aeneid*'s protagonist, in the grand scheme of things he is simply a means to an end. His trials and the hatred of Juno that he suffered was all in order to give rise to *altae moenia Romae* ('the high walls of Rome', *Aen*.1.7). In effect we might assume that Rome herself is the heroine of the epic. It is not only the *Aeneid*'s words that give this impression, but also many of its animals, animals such as the she-wolf, eagle and white sow, that Vergil, as a Roman, knew had special significance to his countrymen. These symbolically charged animals Vergil placed at strategic places with the epic to show to his readers their origin, history and culture. Moreover, this origin and culture was not unique to the city alone but also applied to a wider range of people, hence we find references to Etruscan wolves and Marsian serpents. By defining Roman-ness as a concept that included not only citizens of the city but all Italy, Vergil articulated a Roman-ness that all could share and participate in.

7.5 In Summation

The sheer number of animal references in the *Aeneid* (450, see appendix) should alone be persuasive of their importance, however, this study has shown that by examining the epic's animals in a thematic way new insight is gained into the *Aeneid*'s interpretation. At the same time more light is shed on the relationship between Homer's epic animals and Vergil's. In doing so this study has shown how Vergil adapted the Homeric animal material to suit his own needs, and how he often innovated and even made contributions to it. Guided by the epic's animals, this study has illustrated that the *Aeneid* is a uniquely Roman work and that Vergil took the utmost care to ensure that it reflected his countrymen—and his non-human co-citizens—first and foremost.

Appendix: List of Animals in the *Aeneid*

The following appendix contains all 450 animal references that I have identified.

Table 1: Animals in Book 1 of the *Aeneid*

Wild animals and Insects:	**Location:**
Bee	A.1.430; 435
Swan	A.1.393
Eagle	A.1.394
Deer	A.1.184; 185
Wild boar	A.1.324
Wolf	A.1.275
Lynx	A.1.323
Nonspecific[470]	A.1.308
Domestic animals:	
Cattle	A.1.368; 634
Horse	A.1.316; 444; 472; 476; 568; 752
Sheep	A.1.635
Pig	A.1.634
Nonspecific[471]	A.1.743
Total	21

[470] The nonspecific entries refer to wild animals of an unspecified species. Vergil uses terms such as *ferae* ('wild animals', *Aen*.1.308) and *ferarum* (*Aen*.3.646). There are a total of thirteen references to nonspecific wild animals in the *Aeneid*.

[471] Like the previous footnote, the nonspecific entry here refers to domestic animals of an uncertain species. They appear in terms such as *pecudes* ('beasts of burden', *Aen*.1.743), *pecudes* (*Aen*.4.525) and *pecudum* (*Aen*.6.728). There are a total of seven references to nonspecific domestic animals in the *Aeneid*.

Table 2: Animals in Book 2 of the *Aeneid*

Wild animals and Insects:	**Location:**
Snake	A.2.204; 214; 225; 379; 471
Wolf	A.2.355, 357
Dove	A.2.516
Lion	A.2.722
Domestic animals:	
Cattle	A.2.202, 224, 306, 499
Horse	A.2.418, 476
Total	15

Table 3: Animals in Book 3 of the *Aeneid*

Wild animals and Insects:	**Location:**
Lion	A.3.113
Unidentified bird	A.3.361
Whale[472]	A.3.427
Dolphin	A.3.428
Wolf	A.3.428
Nonspecific	A.3.646
Unidentified animals:[473]	A.3.147
Domestic animals:	
Cattle	A.3.21; 119; 119; 220; 247; 369
Sheep	A.3.120; 641; 656; 660
Goat	A.3.221
Pig	A.3.390-391
Dog	A.3.432
Horse	A.3.470; 537; 704
Total	23

[472] The meaning of *pristis* is uncertain as it can refer to a whale, shark or sawfish (Lewis and Short 1980:1381).

[473] This entry refers to animals of an unidentified species, and further it is not explicitly stated whether they are wild or domestic. These references rather refer to animals as a collective whole which form part of the animal kingdom. Vergil describes them as *animalia* ('living creatures', *Aen*.1.147) and corpora ('bodily creatures'. *Aen.*4.523). There are four references to unidentified groups of animals in the *Aeneid*.

Table 4: Animals in Book 4 of the *Aeneid*

Wild animals and Insects:	**Location:**
Deer	A.4.69; 154; 158
Unidentified bird	A.4.254; 525
Wild goat	A.4.152
Wild boar	A.4.159
Lion	A.4.159
Tiger	A.4.367
Ant	A.4.402
Owl	A.4.462
Snake	A.4.472; 484
Unidentified animals:	A.4.523
Domestic animals:	
Cattle	A.4.61; 636
Sheep	A.4.57; 63; 459
Nonspecific	A.4.525
Dog	A.4.132
Horse	A.4.135; 157; 515
Total	24

Table 5: Animals in Book 5 of the *Aeneid*

Wild animals and Insects:	**Location:**
Bear	A.5.37
Snake	A.5.84; 91; 273
Cormorant	A.5.128
Dove	A.5.213; 488; 506; 509; 516; 542
Deer	A.5.253
Eagle	A.5.255
Lion	A.5.351
Dolphin	A.5.594
Whale	A.5.822
Domestic animals:	
Cattle	A.5.61; 97; 101; 236; 247; 329; 366; 382; 399; 404; 472; 473; 477; 481; 772
Sheep	A.5.96; 736; 772
Pig	A.5.97
Dog	A.5.257
Horse	A.5.105; 310; 549; 554; 566; 571; 578; 739; 817; 818
Total	46

Table 6: Animals in Book 6 of the *Aeneid*

Wild animals and Insects:	**Location:**
Dove	A.6.190; 6.193
Snake	A.6.281; 6.419; 6.572
Vulture	A.6.597
Bee	A.6.707
Deer	A.6.802
Tiger	A.6.805
Unidentified bird	A.6.239; 6.311; 6.728
Nonspecific	A.6.7; 6.179; 6.729
Domestic animals:	
Cattle	A.6.24; 6.38; 6.153; 6.243; 6.251; 6.253
Sheep	A.6.39; 6.249
Dog	A.6.257
Horse	A.6.587; 6.591; 6.653; 6.655; 6.881
Nonspecific	A.6.728
Total	30

Table 7: Animals in Book 7 of the *Aeneid*

Wild animals and Insects:	**Location:**
Lion	A.7.15; 7.666
Wild boar	A.7.17
Bear	A.7.17
Wolf	A.7.18; 7.688
Nonspecific	A.7.20; 7.404; 7.478; 7.651
Unidentified bird	A.7.33; 7.191; 7.705
Bee	A.7.64
Snake	A.7.329; 7.346; 7.352; 7.375; 7.447; 7.450; 7.561; 7.658; 7.658; 7.753; 7.753
Swan	A.7.699
Deer	A.7.396; 7.481; 7.483; 7.489; 7.500
Domestic animals:	
Sheep	A.7.87-88; 7.93; 7.94-95; 7.175; 7.538
Horse	A.7.163; 7.166; 7.189; 7.274; 7.277; 7.280; 7.285; 7.625; 7.639; 7.651; 7.656; 7.691; 7.724; 7.767; 7.779; 7.782
Dog	A.7.479; 7.494
Cattle	A.7.486; 7.539; 7.663; 7.679; 7.790
Total	59

Table 8: Animals in Book 8 of the *Aeneid*

Wild animals and Insects:	**Location:**
Unidentified bird	A.8.27; 235; 456
Lion	A.8.177; 295; 552
Snake	A.8.289; 300; 436; 437; 697
Wolf	A.8 631
Bear	A.8.368
Panther	A.8.460
Goose	A.8.655
Dolphin	A.8.673
Unidentified animals:	A.8.26
Domestic animals:	
Horse	A.8.3; 551; 552; 596; 607; 642
Pig	A.8.43; 44; 82; 83; 85; 641
Cattle	A.8.180; 183; 203; 204; 207; 208; 214; 217; 263; 294-295; 316; 360; 719
Goat[474]	A.283
Dog	A.8.462; 698
Sheep	A.8.544; 664
Nonspecific	A.8.27; 601
Total	49

[474] Servius argues that the skins worn by Potitius are goat skins since the cult was introduced from Arcadia where Pan was accustomed to wear them (*Comm.Verg.Aen*.8.283).

Table 9: Animals in Book 9 of the *Aeneid*

Wild animals and Insects:	**Location:**
Wolf	A.9.59; 566
Dolphin	A.9.119
Lion	A.9.306; 339; 792
Unidentified bird	A.9.486
Nonspecific	A.9.551; 591; 771-772
Eagle	A.9.564
Hare	A.9.563
Swan	A.9.563
Tiger	A.9.730
Unidentified animals:	A.9.224
Domestic animals:	
Horse	A.9.12; 26; 50; 58; 124; 269; 270; 331; 353; 394; 523; 606; 622; 777
Sheep	A.9.59; 61; 339; 341; 565
Cattle	A.9.388; 609; 627; 628; 706
Dog	A.9.485
Total	40

Table 10: Animals in Book 10 of the *Aeneid*

Wild animals and Insects:	**Location:**
Lion	A.10.157; 253; 454; 723
Tiger	A.10.166
Unidentified bird	A.10.177; 559
Swan	A.10.187
Whale	A.10 211
Crane	A.10.265
Fish	A.10.560
Wild boar	A.10.708
Deer	A.10.725
Domestic animals:	
Horse	A.10.21; 181; 354; 367; 571; 575; 577; 581; 587; 592; 595; 750; 858; 861; 869; 891; 892
Cattle	A.10.176; 455; 483; 718; 785
Dog	A.10.707
Goat	A.10.725
Total	37

Table 11: Animals in Book 11 of the *Aeneid*

Wild animals and Insects:	**Location:**
Snake	A.11.751; 753
Eagle	A.11.752
Falcon	A.11.721; 721
Dove	A.11.722
Nonspecific	A.11.686
Wolf	A.11.681; 811
Crane	A.11.580
Tiger	A.11.576-577
Unidentified fish	A.11.457
Swan	A.11.458; 580
Unidentified bird	A.11.273; 456-457
Domestic animals:	
Horse	A.11.80; 89; 190; 493; 494; 499; 501; 571; 571; 600; 607; 610; 614; 635; 637; 638; 671; 678; 706; 710; 714; 719; 730; 741; 743; 770; 871; 875; 911; 914
Cattle	A.11.197; 679; 811
Pig	A.11.198
Sheep	A.11.199
Nonspecific	A.11.740
Total	52

Table 12: Animals in Book 12 of the Aeneid

Wild animals and Insects:	**Location:**
Lion	A.12.6
Eagle	A.12.247; 255
Swan	A.12.248; 250; 251
Bird	A.12.262
Wild goat	A.12.414
Swallow	A.12.474
Unidentified fish	A.12.518
Bee	A.12.587
Deer	A.12.750
Snake	A.12.848
Owl	A.12.862; 876
Domestic animals:	
Horse	A.12.82; 115; 128; 162; 164; 288, 291, 295; 326; 333; 337; 345; 352; 355; 364; 373; 478; 484; 495; 509; 534; 550; 616; 624; 651; 736
Cattle	A.12.103; 716; 718; 718; 719
Pig	A.12.170
Sheep	A.12.170
Pig and sheep together	A.12.171; 174; 214
Dog	A.12.751; 753
Nonspecific	A.12.688
Total	54

Bibliography

6 ABC Action News. 2019. Snakes overrun anti-poverty office in Willingboro. *6 ABC*, 12 January [Online]. Available at https://6abc.com/pets-animals/snakes-overrun-anti-poverty-office-in-willingboro/5057152/ [Accessed 20 March 2019].

Abed, A. 2006. *Tunisian Mosaics*: *Treasures from Roman Africa*. Grevet, S., trans. Los Angeles: Getty Publications.

Aicher, P. 1989. Ennius' Dream of Homer. *The American Journal of Philology* 110.2: 227-232.

Alden, M. 2005. Lions in Paradise. Lion Similes in the *Iliad* and the Lion Cubs of *IL*. 18.318-322. *The Classical Quarterly* 55.2: 335-342.

Aldrete, G. 2014. Hammers, Axes, Bulls, and Blood: Some Practical Aspects of Roman Animal Sacrifice. *The Journal of Roman Studies* 104: 28-50.

Anderson, W. 1968. Pastor Aeneas: On Pastoral Themes in the *Aeneid*. *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 99: 1-17.

Anderson, W. 1969. *The Art of the* Aeneid. Bristol: Classical Press.

Anderson, W. 2006. Ancient Illustrations of the *Aeneid*: The Hunts of Books 4 and 7. *The Classical World* 99.2: 157-165.

Anthon, C. 1872. *A Classical Dictionary*. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers.

Arnott, G. 2007. *Birds in the Ancient World from A to Z*. London: Routledge.

Ash, R. 2011. Pliny the Elder's Attitude to Warfare. In Morello, R. and Gibson, R. (eds.). *Pliny the Elder: Themes and Contexts*, 1-19.

Bailey, C. 1935. *Religion in Virgil*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Bailey, C.1947. *Lucreti De Rerum Natura libri sex*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Bakker, E., de Jong, I. and van Wees, H. (eds.). 2002. *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*. Leiden: Brill.

Bantaş, A. 1995. *NTC's Romanian and English Dictionary*. Lincolnwood: NTC Publishing Group.

Barber, E. 1961. Apollonius Rhodius. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 70.

Barringer, J. 2001. *The Hunt in Ancient Greece*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Basore, J. 1932. *L. Annaeus Seneca*: *Moral Essays*, *in two volumes*. London: William Heinemann.

Basson, W. 1984. Vergil's Mezentius: A Pivotal Personality. *Acta Classica* 27: 57-70.

Baumbach, M. and Dümmler, N. (eds.). 2014. *Imitate Anacreon! Mimesis, Poiesis and the Poetic Inspiration in the* Carmina Anacreontea. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Beagon, M. 1992. *Roman Nature: The Thought of Pliny the Elder*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Beard, M., North, J. and Price, S. 1998. *Religions of Rome*, *vol* 1: *A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Beck, L. 2005. *Pendanius Dioscorides*: *De materia medica*. Hildesheim: Olms.

Beck, W. 1991. Dogs, Dwellings, and Masters: Ensemble and Symbol in the *Odyssey*. *Hermes* 119.2: 158-167.

Bell, A. 1999. The Popular Poetics and Politics of the *Aeneid*. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 129: 263-279.

Bell, R. 2007. *Power and Piety*: *Augustan Imagery and the Cult of the Magna Mater*. PhD Dissertation. Canterbury: University of Canterbury.

Benardete, S. 1969. *Herodotean Inquiries*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Berger, A. 1961a. Callistratus. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 159.

Berger, A. 1961b. Gaius. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 375-376.

Bernadotte, P. 1959-1967. *Plutarch's Lives*, *in eleven volumes*. London: William Heinemann.

Beye, C. 2006. *Ancient Epic Poetry: Homer, Apollonius, Virgil with a Chapter on the Gilgamesh Poems*. Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers.

Bigwood, J. 1989. Ctesias' *Indica* and Photius. *Phoenix* 43.4: 302-316.

Bigwood, J. 1993. Aristotle and the Elephant Again. *The American Journal of Philology* 114.4: 537-555.

Bispham, E. 2007. *From Asculum to Actium*: *The Municipalisation of Italy from the Social War to Augustus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bittel, J. 2015. Snakes Infest House in Maryland—How did it Happen?, *National Geographic*, 9 June [Online]. Available at https://news.nationalgeographic.com/2015/06/150609-snakes-house-maryland-infestation-animals-science/ [Accessed 20 March 2019].

Blechman, A. 2006. *Pigeons*: *the fascinating saga of the world's most revered and reviled bird*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

Bliquez, L. 1975. Lions and Greek Sculptors. *The Classical World* 68.6: 381-384.

Boardman, J. and Hammond, N. (eds.). 1982. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. III, Part 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boardman, J., Edwards, I. and Hammond, N. et al. (eds.). 1991. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. III, Part 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bodoh, J. 1987. Reading Laocoon in Vergil and Petronius. *L'Antiquité Classique* 56: 269-274.

Bodson, L. 1983. Attitudes toward animals in Greco-Roman antiquity. *International Journal for the Study of Animal Problems* 4.4: 312-320.

Boitani, L., Phillips, M. and Jhala, Y. 2018. Canis lupus. *The IUCN Red List of Threatened Species* [Online]. Available at https://www.iucnredlist.org/species/3746/119623865 [Accessed 29 November 2019].

Bomgardner, D. 1992. The Trade in Wild Beasts for Roman Spectacles. *Anthropozoologia* 16: 161-166.

Boraston, J. 1911. The Birds in Homer. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 31: 216-250.

Borgeaud, P. 1988. *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece*. Atlass, K. and Redfield, J., trans. Chicago: Chigaco University Press. (Original work published in 1979).

Borzsák, S. 1984. *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Bowra, C. 1961. Pindar. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 692-693.

Boyd, H. 1941. *Columella*: *De Re Rustica*, *in III volumes*. London: William Heinemann.

Bradley, G. 2000. *Ancient Umbria*: *State, Culture, and Identity in central Italy from the Iron Age to the Augustan Era*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bradley, K. 1998. The Sentimental Education of the Roman Child: the Role of Pet-Keeping. *Latomus* 57.3: 523-557.

Breen, C. 1986. The Shield of Turnus, The Swordbelt of Pallas, and The Wolf: *Aeneid* 7.789-792, 9.59-66, 10.497-499. *Vergilius* 32: 63-71.

Brewer, D., Clark, T. and Phillips, A. 2001. *Dogs in Antiquity: Anubis to Cerberus: the Origins of the Domestic Dog*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

Brownson, C. 1980. *Xenophon*: *Anabasis.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Brunt, P and Moore, J. 1983. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burbidge, J. 2010. *O quam te memorem*, *virgo*? Interpreting Venus in *Aeneid* 1.314-417. In Smith, A and Pickup, S. (eds.). *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*, 51-78.

Burkert, W. 1985. *Greek Religion*: *Archaic and Classical*. Raffan, J., trans. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. (Original work published in 1977).

Burkert, W. 1987. *Ancient Mystery Cults*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Burkhardt, R. 2001. A Man and His Menagerie. *Natural History* 110.1: 62-69.

Burriss, E. 1935. The Place of the Dog in Superstition as Revealed in Latin Literature. *Classical Philology* 30.1: 32-42.

Butterworth, G. 1919. *Clement of Alexandria*. London: William Heinemann

Cairns, F. 1990. *Virgil's Augustan Epic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Calder, L. 2011. *Cruelty and Sentimentality: Greek Attitudes to Animals*, *600-300 BC*. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Campbell, G. (ed.) 2014. *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carbon, J., Peels, S. and Pirenne-Delforge, V. *A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN),* Liège 2015 [Online]. Available at http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/136/?lemma1=%CF%80%CE%B5%CF%81%CE%B9%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%81%E1%BD%B1&condition1=exact&strict=1 [Accessed 13 February 2020].

Cary, E. 1960. *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). 1961. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Casson, L. 1971. *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Caton, R. 1898. Two Lectures On The Temples And Ritual Of Asklepios At Epidaurus And Athens. *The British Medical Journal* 1.1955: 1572-1575.

Cenzato, E. and Santopietro, F. 1990. *Owls: Art, Legend, History*. Toronto: Little, Brown and Company.

Champlin, E. 1987. The Testament of the Piglet. *Phoenix* 41.2: 174-183.

Chase, G. 1902. The Shield Devices of the Greeks in Art and Literature. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 13: 61-127.

Cherness, H. and Helmbold, W. 1957. *Plutarch*: *Moralia*, *volume XII*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

Chew, K. 2002. Inscius pastor: Ignorance and Aeneas' Identity in the *Aeneid*. *Latomus* 61.3: 616-627.

Christesen, P and Kyle, D. (eds.). 2014. *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Clark, A. and Peterson, W. 1901-1911. *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes* in 7 volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Clarke, M., Currie, B. and Lyne, R. (eds.). 2006. *Epic interactions: perspectives on Homer, Virgil, and the epic tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Clausen, W. 1964. An Interpretation of the *Aeneid*. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 68: 139-147.

Cleland, L., Davies, G. and Llewellyn-Jones, L. 2007. *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*. London: Routledge.

Cohen, J. 1993. *Michel de Montaigne: Essays*. London: Penguin Books.

Coleman, K. 1996. Ptolemy Philadelphus and the Roman Amphitheatre. In Slater, W. (ed.). *Roman Theater and Society*, 49-68.

Collins, J. 2012. Noah, Deucalion, and the New Testament. *Bilblica* 93.3: 403-426.

Combellack, F. 1953. Homer's Savage Fish. *The Classical Journal* 48.7: 257-261.

Conington, J. 1863. *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*: *with a commentary*, *vol* 2. London: Whittaker and Co.

Conington, J. and Nettleship, H. 1871. *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*: *with a commentary*, *vol* 3. London: Whittaker and Co.

Conway, R. 1935. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cook, A. 1895. The Bee in Greek Mythology. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 15: 1-24.

Corcoran, T. 1964. Fish Treatises in the Early Roman Empire. *The Classical Journal* 59.6: 271-274.

Cornell, T. 1975. Aeneas and the Twins: the development of the Roman Foundation Legend. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 21: 1-32.

D'Amato, R. 2018. *Roman Standards and Standard-Bearers 112 BC – AD 192*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing.

Darel, T. 2005. Ancient Greenbacks: Athenian Owls, the Law of Nikophon, and the Greek Economy. *Historia*: *Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 54.4: 359-381.

Dart, C. 2014. *The Social War*, 91 to 88 BCE: *A History of the Italian Insurgency against the Roman Republic*. London: Routledge.

de Blois, L. 2007. Army and General in the Late Roman Republic. In, Erdkamp. P (ed.). *A Companion to the Roman Army*, 163-180.

de Villiers, A. 2013. The Deer Hunter: a Portrait of Aeneas. *Akroterion* 58: 47-59.

Deacy, S. and Villing, A. 2009. What was the colour of Athena's Aegis? *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 129: 111-129.

Dennis, G. 1883. *The Cities and Cemeteries of Eturia*, *vol* 1. London: John Murray.

Depew, D. 1995. Humans and Other Political Animals in Aristotle's *History of Animals*. *Phronesis* 40.2: 156-181.

Devereux, G. 1965. Homer's Wild She-Mules. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 85: 29-32.

Dignas, B. 2007. A Day in the Life of a Greek Sanctuary. In Ogden, D. (ed.). *A Companion to Greek Religion*, 163-177.

Dodson, D. 2009. *Reading Dreams*: *An Audience-Critical Approach to the Dreams in the Gospel of Matthew*. London: T&T Clark.

Donaldson, M. 1999. *The Domestic Cat in Roman Civilisation*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press.

Dorsch, T. (transl.). 1956. *Aristotle: On the Art of Poetry*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Dover, K. 1980. *Plato: Symposium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

duBois, P. 1976. The φαρμακός of Virgil: Dido as Scapegoat. *Vergilius* 22: 14-23.

Duckworth, G. 1967. The Significance of Nisus and Euryalus for *Aeneid* IX-XII. *The American Journal of Philology* 88.2: 129-150.

Duff, J and Duff, A. 1934. *Minor Latin Poets*, *in two volumes*. London: William Heinemann.

Duff, J. 1934. *Silius Italicus: Punica*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

Duff, J. 1961a. Apicius. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 68.

Duff, J. 1961b. Grattius. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 395.

Dumézil, G. 1966. *Archaic Roman Religion*. Krapp, P., trans. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Dunbabin, K. 1971. The Triumph of Dionysus on Mosaics in North Africa. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 39: 52-65.

Dunbabin, T. 1961. Bocchus. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 139.

Duncan, T. 1948. The Aeneas Legend on Coins. *The Classical Journal* 44.1: 15-29.

Dunkle, J. 1973. The Hunter and Hunting in the *Aeneid*. *Ramus* 2: 128-143.

Eck, W. 2007. *The Age of Augustus*, *second edition*. Schneider, D., trans. Oxford: Blackwell.

Edwards, W. 1961a. Aelianus. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 11.

Edwards, W. 1961b. Babrius. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 129.

Ehrenberg, V. 1961. Agathocles. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 20-21.

Ehwald, R. 1884. *P. Ovidius Naso*: *Tristia*, *Ibis, Ex Ponto Libri*, *Fasti*, *tomus III*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Ehwald, R. 1890. *P. Ovidius Naso*: *Metamorphoses*, *tomus II*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Ekroth, G. 2014. Animal Sacrifice in Antiquity. In Campbell, G. (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, 324-354.

Elliot. T. 1945. *What Is a Classic?* London: Faber & Faber.

Elphick, C., Dunning, J. and Sibley, D. 2001. *The Sibley Guide to Bird Life and Behaviour*. London: Chanticleer Press.

Engels, D. 2001. *Classical Cats*: *The Rise and Fall of the Sacred Cat*. London: Routledge.

Epplett, C. 2001a. *Animal Spectacula of the Roman Empire*. PhD Dissertation. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Epplett, C. 2001b. The Capture of Animals by the Roman Military. *Greece and Rome* 48.2: 210-222.

Epplett, C. 2014. Roman Beast Hunts. In Christesen, P and Kyle, D. (eds.). *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, 505-519.

Erdkamp. P (ed.). 2007. *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Erskine, A. 2001. *Troy between Greece and Rome*: *Local Tradition and Imperial Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Evelyn-White, H. 1914. *Hesiod: The Homeric Hymns and Homerica*. London: William Heinemann.

Fairbanks, A. 1931. *Philostratus*: *Imagines* and *Callistratus*: *Descriptions*. London: William Heinemann.

Farnell, L. 2010. *The Cults of the Greek States*, *in V volumes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Farrell, J and Anderson, W. 1990. Which *Aeneid* in whose nineties? *Vergilius* 36: 74-81.

Fletcher, J. 2014. *Deer*. London: Reaktion Books.

Flower, H. 2017. *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Fögen, T. 2007. Pliny the Elder's Animals: Some Remarks on the Narrative Structure of *Nat. Hist.* 8–11. *Hermes* 135.2: 184-198.

Foley, J. (ed.). 2005. *A Companion to Ancient Epic*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Follo, V. 2014. Becoming Roman Again: Roman Ethnicity and Italian Identity. In, McInerney, J. (ed.). *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, 541-554.

Forbes, W. 1930. The Silkworm of Aristotle. *Classical Philology* 25.1: 22-26.

Fordyce, C. 1977. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Libri VII–VIII*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fortenbaugh, W. 1971. Aristotle: Animals, Emotion, and Moral Virtue. *Arethusa* 4.2: 137-165.

Foss, T. 2012. Roman Ideas in the Late Republic about Animals: Pervasive Cruelty as Indicated and Propagated in the *Bellum Catilinae* of Sallust. *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 102.3: 95-121.

Foster, B. 1967. *Livy*: The History of Rome. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Foster, G. 1984. The Bones from the Altar West of the Painted Stoa. *The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 53.1: 73-82.

Fowler, D. 1990. Deviant Focalisation in Virgil's *Aeneid*. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 36: 42-63.

Fowler, D. 2006. The Virgil commentary of Servius. In Martindale, C. (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, 73-78.

Fowler, W. 1919. *The Death of Turnus*: *Observations on the Twelfth Book of the* Aeneid*. Oxford: Blackwell*.

Fox, R. 2004. *Alexander the Great*. London: Penguin Books.

Fratantuono, L. 2007. *Madness Unchained*: *a Reading of Virgil's* Aeneid: Lanham: Lexington Books.

Fratantuono, L. 2018. The Wolf in Virgil. *Revue des études anciennes* 120.1: 101-119.

Fratantuono, L. and Smith, R. (eds.). 2015. *Virgil*, Aeneid 5. Leiden: Brill.

Fratantuono, L. and Smith, R. (eds.). 2018. *Virgil*, Aeneid 8. Leiden: Brill.

Frayn, J. 1984. *Sheep-Rearing and the Wool Trade in Italy during the Roman Period*. Liverpool: Francis Cairns.

Frazer, J. 1921. *Apollodorus*: *The Library*. London: William Heinemann.

Frazer, J. 1922. *The Golden Bough*. Abridged edition, reprint. New York: Macmillan, 1990.

Frizell, B. (ed.). 2004. *Pecus*: *Man and Animal in Antiquity*. Rome: The Swedish Institute in Rome.

Gale, M. 2005. Lucretius. In Foley, J. (ed.). *A Companion to Ancient Epic*, 440-451.

Galinsky, K. (ed.). 2007. *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Galinsky, K. 1966. The Hercules-Cacus Episode in *Aeneid* VIII. *The American Journal of Philology* 87.1: 18-51.

Galinsky, K. 1968. *Aeneid* V and the *Aeneid*. *The American Journal of Philology* 89.2: 157-185.

Galinsky, K. 1969. *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Galinsky, K. 2003. Clothes for the Emperor. *Arion* 10.3: 143-169.

Galinsky, K. 2007a. Continuity and Change: Religion in the Augustan Semi-Century. In Rüpke, J. (ed.). *A Companion to Roman Religion*, 71-82.

Galinsky, K. 2007b. Introduction. In Galinsky, K. (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, 1-9.

Galinsky, K. 2007c. Vergil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as World Literature. In Galinsky, K. (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, 340-358.

Gallivan, P. 1978. The Fasti for the Reign of Claudius. *The Classical Quarterly* 28.2: 407-426.

Ganiban, R., Farrell, J., O'Hara, J. et al. (eds.). 2012. *Vergil: Aeneid Book 1-6*. Indianapolis: Focus Publishing.

Gantz, T. 1993. *Early Greek Myth*: *a Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*. Baltimore: The University of John Hopkins Press.

Gardner, P. 1882. Samos and Samnian Coins. *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society* 2: 201-290.

Gardner, P. 1884. A Sepulchral Relief from Tarentum. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 5: 105-142.

Georg, G. and Keil, H. 1929. *M. Terenti Varronis Rerum rusticarum libri tres*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Georges, H. 1906. *Donatus*: *Interpretationes Vergilianae*. Teubner: Leipzig.

Gerlo, A. 1940. *Tertullianus*: *De Pallio in two volumes*. Wetteren: Uitgeverij De Meester.

Giarratano, C and Vollmer, F. (eds). 1922. *Apicii librorvm X qui dicuntur de re coquinaria quae extant.* Leipzig: Teubner.

Gilmartin, K. 1968. Hercules in the *Aeneid*. *The Vergilian Society* 14: 41-47.

Glenn, J. 1998. Odysseus Confronts Nausicaa: The Lion Simile of *Odyssey* 6.130-136. *The Classical World* 92.2: 107-116.

Godley, A. 1920. *Herodotus*: *History*. London: William Heinemann.

Godwin, J. 1981. *Mystery Religions in the Ancient World*. San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishers.

Goetz, G. 1922. *M. Porci Catonis De Agricultura Liber*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Goldschmidt, N. 2013. *Shaggy Crowns: Ennius'* Annales *and Virgil's* Aeneid. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gomme, A. 1961a. Cleon. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 201.

Gomme, A. 1961b. Pericles. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 664

Goss, R. 1983. *Deer Antlers*: *Regeneration, Function and Evolution*. New York: Academic Press.

Gotthelf, A. 2012. *Teleology, First Principles, and Scientific Method in Aristotle's Biology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gowers, E. 2016. Dido and the Owl. In, Mitsis, P. and Ziogas, I. (eds.). *Wordplay and Powerplay in Latin Poetry*, 107-130.

Graf, F. 2009. *Apollo*. London: Routledge.

Graillot, H. 1912. *Le Culte De Cybele, Meres Des Dieux, A Rome Et Dans l'Empire Romain.* Paris: Fontemoing.

Graver, M. 1995. Dog-Helen and Homeric Insult. *Classical Antiquity* 114.1: 41-61.

Grebe, S. 2004. Augustus' Divine Authority and Vergil's *Aeneid*. *Vergilius* 50: 35-62.

Green, C. 1996. Did the Romans Hunt? *Classical Antiquity* 15.2: 222-260.

Greenough, J. (ed.). 1900. *The Bucolics, Aeneid, and Georgics of Virgil*. Boston: Ginn & Co.

Griffin, J. 2004. *Homer*: *The Odyssey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Griffith, G. 1961. Alexander III. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 32-34.

Griffith, M. 2006. Horsepower and Donkeywork: Equids and the Ancient Greek Imagination. *Classical Philology* 101.3: 185-246.

Griffiths, S. and Wilkes, D. 2013. Roman sculpture of an eagle devouring a serpent unearthed in London, *Daily Mail*, 29 October [Online]. Available at https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-2478904/Roman-sculpture-eagle-devouring-serpent-unearthed-London.html [Accessed 20 March 2019].

Grubbs, J. and Parkin, T. (eds). 2013. *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gruen, E. 1990. *Studies in Greek and Roman policy*. Leiden: Brill.

Gutzwiller, K. 2014. Anacreon, Hellenistic Epigram and the Anacreontic Poetic. In, Baumbach, M. and Dümmler, N. (eds.). *Imitate Anacreon! Mimesis, Poiesis and the Poetic Inspiration in the* Carmina Anacreontea, 47-66.

Hainsworth, B and Kirk, G. (ed.). 1993. *The Iliad*. *A Commentary*: *Volume III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hainsworth, J. 1961. Odysseus and the Dogs. *Greece & Rome* 8.2: 122-125.

Haldene, J. 1955. Aristotle's Account of Bees' 'Dances'. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 75: 24-25.

Hall, F. and Geldart, W. (eds.). 1907. *Aristophanis Comoediae*, *tomi iv* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hammer, J. 1943. Trained Animals in Antiquity: A Portion of a Paper. *The Classical Outlook* 20.6: 59-61.

Hanfmann, G. 1961a. Aegis. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 10.

Hanfmann, G. 1961b. Cerberus. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 181.

Harden, A. 2014. Animals in Classical Art. In Campbell, G. (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, 24-60.

Hardie, P. 1986. *Virgil's* Aeneid: *Cosmos and Imperium*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Hardie, P. 1987. Ships and Ship-names in the *Aeneid*. In Whitby, M., Hardie, P and Whitby M. (eds). *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble*, 163-171.

Hardie, P. 2000. Review of *Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid* by M. C. J. Putnam. *The Journal of Roman Studies* 90: 239-240.

Hardie, P. 2014. *The Last Trojan Hero: A Cultural History of Virgil's* Aeneid. London: I.B.Tauris.

Harrison, J. 1962. *Epilegomena and Themis*. New York: University Books.

Harrison, S. 1991. *Virgil Aeneid 10*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harrison, S. 2004. *Virgil:* The Aeneid. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harrison, S. 2006. The Epic and the Monuments: Interactions between Virgil's *Aeneid* and the Augustan Building Programme. In Clarke, M., Currie, B. and Lyne, R. (eds.). *Epic interactions: perspectives on Homer, Virgil, and the epic tradition*, 159-184.

Hartigan, K. 1973. He Rose Like a Lion: Animal Similes in Homer and Virgil. *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 21: 223–244.

Hawtree, L. 2011. *Wild Animals in Roman Epic*. PhD Dissertation. Exeter: University of Exeter.

Hawtree, L. 2014. Animals in Epic. In Campbell, G. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, 73-83..

Heinze, R. 1993. *Virgil's Epic Technique*. Harvey, H., Harvey, D. and Robertson, F., trans. Berkeley: The University of California Press. (Original work published in 1903).

Hejduk, J. 2009. Jupiter's Aeneid: *Fama* and *Imperium*. *Classical Antiquity* 18.2: 279-327.

Henry, E. 1989 *The Vigour of Prophecy*: *A Study of Virgil's* Aeneid. Carbondale: South Illinois University Press.

Henry, J. 1889. *Aeneidea*, *in four volumes*. Dublin: Ponsonby & Weldrick.

Hershkowitz, D. 1998. *The Madness of Epic*: *Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heubeck, A and Hoekstra, A. 1990. *A Commentary on Homer's* Odyssey, *Volume II*: *Books IX-XVI.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hollemann, A. 1985. Lupus, Lupercalia, lupa. *Latomus* 44.3: 609-614.

Hornsby, R. 1970. *Patterns of Action in the Aeneid*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

Horsfall, N. (ed.). 1995. *A Companion to the Study of Virgil*. Leiden: Brill.

Horsfall, N. 1973. Corythus: The Return of Aeneas in Virgil and His Source. *The Journal of Roman Studies* 63: 68-79.

Horsfall, N. 2000. *Virgil*, Aeneid 7: *A Commentary*. Leiden: Brill.

Horsfall, N. 2003. *Virgil*, Aeneid 11: *A Commentary*. Leiden: Brill.

Horsfall, N. 2006. *Virgil*, Aeneid 3: *A Commentary*. Leiden: Brill.

Horsfall, N. 2008. *Virgil*, Aeneid 2: *A Commentary*. Leiden: Boston.

Hort, A. 1916. *Theophrastus*: *Enquiry into Plants*, *in two volumes*. London: William Heinemann.

Howe, T. 2014. Value Economics: Animals, Wealth and the Market. In Campbell, G. (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, 136-155.

Jackson, D. 2010. *Lion*. London: Reaktion Books.

Jackson, J. 1931. *Tacitus: The Histories and Annals*, *in three volumes*. London: William Heinemann.

Jacoby, F. 1999. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker: Dritter Teil, Geschichte von Staedten und Voelkern (Horographie und Ethnographie): B, Autoren Ueber Einzelne Staedte(Laender) NR. 297-607.* Leiden: Brill.

James, E. 1967. *The Ancient Gods*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Janko, R. and Kirk, G. (ed.). 1994. *The Iliad*. *A Commentary*: *Volume IV*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jenkyns, R. 1998. *Virgil's Experience*: *Nature and History, Times, Names, and Places*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Jennison, G. 1937. *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Jentoft-Nilsen, M. and Trendall, A. 1990. *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*: *South Italian Vases and Apulian Red-figure*. Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum.

Jerolmack, C. 2008. How Pigeons Became Rats: the Cultural-Spatial Logic of Problem Animals. *Social Problems* 55.1: 72-94.

Johansson, K. 2012. *Birds in the* Iliad: *Identities, interactions and functions*. Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg.

Johnson, V. 1961. The Case for Vergil's Venerable Pig. *Vergilius* 7: 19-21.

Johnson, W. 1976. *Darkness Visible*: *A Study of Vergil's* Aeneid. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Johnston, R. and Janiga, M. 1995. *Feral Pigeons*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jones, H. 1917-1949. *The Geography of Strabo*, *in eight volumes*. London: William Heinemann.

Jones, W. 1918. *Pausanias*: *Description of Greece*. London: William Heinemann.

Jones, W.1959. *Hippocrates*: *Volume II.* Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

Kallendorf, C. 2007. *The Other Virgil: "Pessimistic" Readings of the* Aeneid *in Early Modern Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kalof, L. 2007. *Looking at Animals in Human History*. London: Reaktion Books.

Kawtikwar, P., Bhagwat, D. and Sakarkar, D. 2004. Deer antlers: Traditional use and future perspectives. *Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge* 9.2: 245-251.

Keith, A. 2004. *Engendering Rome*: *Women in Latin Epic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kennell, N. 1995. *The Gymnasium of Virtue: Education and Culture in Ancient Sparta*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Kent, R. 1938. *Varro*: *On the Latin Language*, *in two volumes*. London: William Heinemann.

Keppie, L. 1998. *The Making of the Roman Army*: *from Republic to Empire*. Routledge: London.

King, J. 1927. *Cicero: Tusculan Disputations*. London: William Heinemann.

King, J. 1967. The origin and development of the hippomanes in the horse and zebra. *Journal of Anatomy* 101.2: 277-284.

Kirichenko, A. 2013. Virgil's Augustan Temples: Image and Intertext in the *Aeneid*. *The Journal of Roman Studies* 103: 65-87.

Kirk, G. (ed.). 1985. *The Iliad*. *A Commentary*: *Volume I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kirk, G. (ed.). 1990. *The Iliad*. *A Commentary*: *Volume II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kitchell, K. 2004. Man's best friend? The changing role of the dog in Greek society. In Frizell, B. (ed.). *Pecus*: *Man and Animal in Antiquity*, 177-182.

Kitchell, K. 2014. *Animals in the Ancient World from A to Z*. London: Routledge.

Knapp, C. 1935. Hogs Roman and Modern Boar Hunting, Ancient and Modern. *The Classical Weekly* 28.11: 81-84.

Knox, B. 1950. The Serpent and the Flame: The Imagery of the Second Book of the *Aeneid*. *The American Journal of Philology* 71.4: 379-400.

Korhonen, T. and Ruonakoski, E. 2017. *Human and Animal in Ancient Greece*: *Empathy and Encounter in Classical Literature*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Kousser, R. 2010. Augustan Aphrodites: the allure of Greek Art. In Smith, A. and Pickup, S. (eds.). *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*, 287-306.

Kranabetter, I. 2013. Liner notes for *Hasse: Didone Abbandonata*. Hofkapelle München: Michael Hofsetter. Naxos 8.660323-25, 3 compact discs.

Kron, G. 2014. Animal Husbandry. In Campbell, G. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, 109-135.

Kullmann, W. 1991. Aristotle as a Natural Scientist. *Acta Classica* 34: 137-150.

Lane, E. 1980. Towards a Definition of the Iconography of Sabazius. *Numen* 27.1: 9-33.

Larson, J. 2016. *Understanding Greek Religion*: *a cognitive approach*. London: Routledge.

Last, J. 2013. *What to Expect When No One's Expecting*. New York: Encounter Books.

Lawrence, D. 2016. *Snake and Other Poems*. New York: Dover Publications. (Original work published in 1923).

Lazenby, F. 1949a. Greek and Roman Household Pets: Part 1. *The Classical Journal* 44.4: 245-252.

Lazenby, F. 1949b. Greek and Roman Household Pets: Part 2. *The Classical Journal* 44.5: 299-307.

Lennox, P. 1977. Virgil's Night-Episode Re-Examined (*Aeneid* IX, 176-449). *Hermes* 105: 331-342.

Lersch, L. 1853. *Antiquitates Vergilianae*. Bonne: H. B. König.

Lewis, C. and Short, C. (eds.). 1980. *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Liddell, H., Scott, R. and Jones, H. (eds.). 1996. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lindsay, W. 1913. *Sexti Pompei Festi De Verborum Significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli Epitome*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Lloyd-Jones, H. 1975. More about Antileon, Tyrant of Calchis. *Classical Philology* 70.3: 197.

Lonsdale, S. 1990. *Creatures of Speech. Lion, Herding, and Hunting Similes in the Iliad* (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 5). Stuttgart: Teubner.

Lowe, D. 2012. Sabazius in the *Aeneid* (7.341-360). *Vergilius* 58: 81-91.

Luck, G. 1959. Kids and Wolves. *The Classical Quarterly* 19.1: 34-37.

Lyne, O. 1987. *Further voices in Vergil's Aeneid*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

MacDill, M. 1927. Did Rome Fall for Lack of a Horse Collar? *The Science News-Letter* 11.314: 245-246.

Mackay, E. (ed.). 2008. *Orality, Literacy, Memory in the Ancient Greek and Roman World.* Leiden: Brill.

Mackie, C. 1992. Vergil's Dirae, South Italy, and Etruria. *Phoenix* 46.4: 352-361.

MacKinnon, M. 2001. High on the Hog: Linking Zooarchaeological, Literary, and Artistic Data for Pig Breeds in Roman Italy. *American Journal of Archaeology* 105.4: 649-673.

MacKinnon, M. 2004. The Role of caprines in Roman Italy: idealised and realistic reconstructions using ancient textual and zooarchaeological dat. In Frizell, B. (ed.). *Pecus*: *Man and Animal in Antiquity*, 54-60.

MacKinnon, M. 2006. Supplying Exotic Animals for the Roman Amphitheatre. *Mouseion* 3.6: 1-25.

Mackinnon, M. 2014a. Hunting. In Campbell, G. (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, 203-215.

Mackinnon, M. 2014b. Fauna of the Ancient Mediterranean World. In Campbell, G. (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, 156-179.

Mair, A. 1921. *Callimachus and Lycophron*. London: William Heinemann.

Makowski, J. 1989. Nisus and Euryalus: A Platonic Friendship. *The Classical Journal* 85.1: 1-15.

Marchant, E. 1946. *Xenophon*: *Scripta Minora*. London: William Heinemann.

Marcinkowski, A. 2001. Le Loup et les Grecs. *Ancient Society* 31: 1–26.

Markoe, G. 1989. The Lion Attack in Archaic Greek Art: Heroic Triumph. *Classical Antiquity* 8: 86-115.

Martin, R. 2005. Epic as Genre. In, Foley, J. (ed.). *A Companion to Ancient Epic*, 9-19.

Martindale, C. (ed.). 2006. *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marvin, G. 2012. *Wolf*. London: Reaktion Books.

Massaro, A. 2014. Living in Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*: Animals' *ataraxia* and Humans' Distress. *Relations: Beyond Anthropocentrism* 2.2: 45-57.

Masseti, M. 2012. *Atlas of terrestrial mammals of the Ionian and Aegean islands*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Maxwell-Stuart, P. 1971. Dionysus and the Fawnskin. *The Classical Quarterly* 21.2: 437-439.

McInerney, J. (ed.). 2014. *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

McInerney, J. 2010. *The Cattle of the Sun*: *cows and culture in the world of the ancient Greeks*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

McMaster, P. 1922. Do Species Lacking a Gall Bladder Possess Its Functional Equivalent? *Journal of Experimental Medicine* 35.2: 127-140.

Merrills, A. and Miles, R. 2010: *The Vandals*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Milham, M. 1966. In Defence of Hamburger: Apicius and Roman Cooking. *Vergilius* 12:46-48.

Miller, F. 1938. *Seneca's Tragedies* in two volumes. London: William Heinemann.

Mitsis, P. and Ziogas, I. (eds.). 2016. *Wordplay and Powerplay in Latin Poetry*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Moles, J. 2002. Herodotus and Athens. In, Bakker, E., de Jong, I. and van Wees, H. (eds.). *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*, 33-52.

Momigliano, A. 1961a. Juba II. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 469.

Momigliano, A. 1961b. Quintus Sertorius. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 830-831.

Mommsen, T., Krueger, P. and Watsons, A. (eds.). 1985. *The Digest of Justinian*, *in four volumes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Morello, R. and Gibson, R. (eds.). 2011. *Pliny the Elder: Themes and Contexts*. Leiden: Brill.

Morgan, G. 1994. Dido the Wounded Deer. *Vergilius* 40: 67-68.

Morris, D. 2009. *Owl*. London: Reaktion Books.

Mueller, H. 2012. *Caesar*: *Selections from his* Commentarii De Bello Gallico. Mundelein: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers.

Munro, D. and Allen, T. 1920. *Homeri Opera in five volumes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Murphy, T. 2004. *Pliny the Elder's Natural History*: *The Empire in the Encyclopedia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Murray, G. 1913. *Euripidis Fabulae*, *in 3 volumes*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Mynors, R. 1961. Laocoon. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 479.

Näsström, B. 2004. The Sacrifices of Mithras. In Frizell, B. (ed.). *Pecus*: *Man and Animal in Antiquity*, 108-111.

Nelis, D. 2001. *Vergil's* Aeneid *and the* Argonautica *of Apollonius Rhodius*. Leeds: Francis Cairns.

Nethercut, W. 1972. The Imagery of the *Aeneid*. *The Classical Journal* 67.2: 123-143.

Neudecker, R. 2006. Theocles. In Cancik, H and Schneider, H et al. (eds.). *Brill's New Pauly*, [Online]. Available at https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/theocles-e1209040 [Accessed 27 March 2019].

Newmyer, S. 1997. Just Beasts? Plutarch and Modern Science on the Sense of Fair Play in Animals. *The Classical Outlook* 74.3: 85-88.

Newmyer, S. 2003. Paws to Reflect: Ancients and Moderns on the Religious Sensibilities of Animals. *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 75.3: 111-129..

Newmyer, S. 2011. *Animals in Greek and Roman Thought*: *A Sourcebook*. London: Routledge.

Newmyer, S. 2014. Being the One and Becoming the Other: Animals in Ancient Philosophical School. In Campbell, G. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, 507-534.

Nice, A. 2005. The reputation of the mantis Aristander. *Acta Classica* 48: 87-102.

Nixon, P. 1980. *Plautus*: *The Little Carthaginian, Pseudolus and The Rope*, volume 4. London: William Heinemann.

Norcio, G. 1963. Breve nota a *Eneide* X, 156-162. *Convivium* 31.1:60-63.

Norlin, G. 1929. *Isocrates*: *Antidosis*. London: William Heinemann.

O'Hara, J. 1990. *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's* Aeneid. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

O'Hara, J. 1993. Medicine for the Madness of Dido and Gallus: Tentative Suggestions on *Aeneid* 4. *Vergilius* 39: 12-24.

Ogden, D. (ed.). 2007. *A Companion to Greek Religion*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Ogden, D. 2013. *Drakon*: *Dragon Myth and Serpent Cult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ogilvy, J. 1972. Animals in the *Iliad*. *Echos du monde classique* 16.2: 49-53.

Ogle. W. 1882. *Aristotle*: *On the Parts of Animals*. London: Kegan Paul & Co.

Oldfather, C., Sherman, C., Welles, C., Geer, R. and Walton, F. 1933-1967. *Diodorus Siculus: Bibliotheca Historia in twelve volumes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Orlin, E. 2010. *Foreign cults in Rome*: *creating a Roman Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Otis, B. 1995. *Virgil*: *a Study in Civilized Poetry*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Otto, W. 1965. *Dionysus: Myth and Cult*. Palmer, R., trans. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. (Original work published in 1933).

Page, T. 1970. *The Aeneid of Virgil*: *Books VII-XII*. London: Macmillan Press.

Pappas, A. 2008. Remember to Cry Wolf: Visual and Verbal Declarations of *LYKOS KALOS*. In Mackay, E. (ed.). *Orality, Literacy, Memory in the Ancient Greek and Roman World*, 97-114.

Parry, A. 1963. The Two Voices of Virgil's *Aeneid*. *A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 2.4:66-80.

Paschalis, M. 2005. The Narrator as Hunter: Longus, Virgil and Theocritus. *Metaphor and the Ancient Novel*: *Ancient Narrative Supplement* 4: 50-67.

Patterson, C. 2013. Education in Plato's *Laws*. In Grubbs, J. and Parkin, T. (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, 365-380.

Peck, A. 1965. *Aristotle: Historia Animalium*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

Peck, A. and Forster, E. 1961. *Aristotle*: *Parts of Animals*, *Movement of Animals, and Progression of Animals*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press

Perry, B. 1989. *Fables: Babrius and Phaedrus*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

Pets, Animals, Travel, Docs, & Rare Musical Stuff. 2016. *Weird Nature: Eagle vs. Tortoise*. [Online video]. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NYsNxEfnyoM [Accessed 16 March 2020].

Pirenne-Delforge, V. 2006. Ritual Dynamics in Pausanias: The Laphria. In, Stavrianopoulou, E. (ed.). *Ritual and Communication in the Graeco-Roman World*, 111-129.

Platner, S. and Ashby, T. (eds.). 1929. *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pollard, J. 1977. *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Pollitt, J. 1986. *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pomeroy, S. 1995. *Goddesses*, *Whores*, *Wives and Slaves*. New York: Schocken Books.

Pöschl, V. 1962. *The Art of Vergil*. Seligson, G., trans. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. (Original work published in 1950).

Preston, C. 2006. *Bee*. London: Reaktion Books.

Purser, L. 1940 *M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistulae* in 3 volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Putnam, M. 1962. Unity and Design in *Aeneid* V. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 66: 205-239.

Putnam, M. 1965. *The Poetry of the Aeneid*: *Four Studies in Imaginative Unity and Design*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

Putnam, M. 1970. *Aeneid* VII and the *Aeneid*. *The American Journal of Philology* 91.4: 408-430.

Putnam, M. 1995a. Silvia's Stag and Virgilian Ekphrasis. *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 34: 107-133.

Putnam, M. 1995b. *Virgil's Aeneid*: *Interpretation and Influence*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Putnam, M. 1995c. Ganymede and Virgilian Ekphrasis. *The American Journal of Philology* 116.3: 419-440.

Putnam, M. 2011. *The Humanness of Heroes*: *Studies in the Conclusion of Virgil's Aeneid*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Quinn, K. 1969. *Virgil's Aeneid*: *a Critical Description*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Quint, D. 2018. *Virgil's Double Cross*: *Design and Meaning in the* Aeneid. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rackham, H., Jones, W. and Eichholz, D. 1938-162. *Pliny: Natural History* in 10 volumes. London: William Heinemann.

Ranstrand, G. 1971. *Pomponii Melae De Chorographia Libri Tres una cum Indice Verborum*. Graz: Akademische Druck.

Redpath, L. 2015. Kayaker gets some unusual company when out for a paddle…Deer swimming in the sea, *The Press and Journal*, 10 June [Online]. Available at https://www.pressandjournal.co.uk/fp/news/605822/kayaker-gets-unusual-company-paddle-deer-swimming-sea/ [Accessed 2 September 2019].

Reed, J. 2007. *Virgil's gaze*: *Nation and Poetry in the* Aeneid. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Reifferscheid, A. 1875. *Arnobii Adversus Nationes Libri VII*. Vienna: C. Geroldi.

Renberg, G. 2007. Public and Private Places of Worship in the Cult of Asclepius at Rome. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 52: 87-172.

Richardson, N. and Kirk, G. (ed.). 1993. *The Iliad*. *A Commentary*: *Volume VI*. Cambridge: Cambridge University

Rissanen, M. 2012. The *Hirpi Sorani* and the Wolf Cults of Central Italy. *Arctos* 46:115-135.

Rissanen, M. 2014a. Was there a Taboo on Killing Wolves in Rome? *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 107.2: 125-147.

Rissanen, M. 2014b. The *Lupa Romana* in the Roman Provinces. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 65: 335-360.

Robert, L. 1950. Monuments de gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec. *Hellenica* 8: 39-72.

Rogers, J. 2015. *Eagle*. London: Reaktion Books.

Rogerson, A. 2017. *Virgil's Ascanius*: *Imagining the Future in the* Aeneid. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rolfe, J. 1961. *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Rolfe, J.1979. *Suetonius*: *In Two Volumes*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

Roller, L. 1999. *In Search of God the Mother*: *The Cult of Anatolian Cybele*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ronca, I. 1994. *Ex Africa semper aliquid novi*: the Ever Surprising Vicissitudes of a Pre-Aristotelian Proverb. *Latomus* 53.3: 570-593.

Rose, A. 1983. Vergil's Ship-Snake Simile (*Aeneid* 5.270-281). *The Classical Journal* 78.2: 115-121.

Rosenmeyer, P. 1999. Tracing *Medulla* as a *Locus Eroticus*. *Arethusa* 32: 19-47.

Ross, D. 2007. *Virgil's* Aeneid*: a Reader's Guide*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Ross, W. 1961. Sextius Niger. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 834.

Rüpke, J. (ed.). 2007. *A Companion to Roman Religion*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Salmon, E. 1962. The Cause of the Social War. *Phoenix* 16.2: 107-119.

Sandys, J. 1915. *The Odes of Pindar*. London: William Heinemann.

Scher, L. 1975. Two Views of Cupid. *The Classical Outlook* 52.7: 78-79.

Schiesaro, A. 2008. Furthest voices in Virgil's Dido. *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 100:60-245.

Schmidt, E. 2001. The Meaning of Vergil's *Aeneid*: American and German Approaches. *The Classical World* 94.2: 145-171.

Scholes, P. 1955. *The Oxford Companion to Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Scholfield, A. 1959. *Aelian*: *On the Characteristics of Animals*. London: William Heinemann.

Scullard, H. 1981. *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Sear, D. 1978. *Greek coins and their values*: *volume* 1. London: Seaby Publications.

Seaton, R. 1919. *Apollonius Rhodius*: The Argonautica. London: William Heinemann.

Segal, C. 1968. Circean Temptations: Homer, Vergil, Ovid. *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 99: 419-442.

Shackleton Bailey, D. 1993. *Martial: Epigrams, in three volumes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Shelton, J. 1995. Contracts with Animals: Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*. *Between the Species* 11.3: 115-121.

Shelton, J. 2014. Spectacles of Animal Abuse. In Campbell, G. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, 461-477.

Sherwin-White, A. 1961. Sulla. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 866-867.

Shipp, G. 1972. *Studies in the Language of Homer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shorey, P. 1936-1942. *Plato*: *the Republic* in two volumes. London: William Heinemann.

Sihvola, J. 1996. Emotional Animals: Do Aristotelian Emotions Require Beliefs? *Apeiron* 29.2: 105-144.

Smith, A. and Pickup, S. (eds.). 2010. *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*. Leiden: Brill.

Smyth, H. 1930a. *Aeschylus*: *Agamemnon*, *Libation-bearers* and *Eumenides*, *volume II*. London: William Heinemann.

Smyth, H. 1930b. *Aeschylus*: *Suppliant Maidens*, *Persians*, *Prometheus* and *Seven Against Thebes*. *volume I*. London: William Heinemann.

Sommerstein, A. 1981. *Aristophanes' Knights*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Stafford, E. 2007. Personification in Greek Religious Thought and Practice. In Ogden, D. (ed.). *A Companion to Greek Religion*, 71-85.

Staley, G. 1990. Aeneas' First Act: 1.180-194. *Classical World* 84.1:25-38.

Starr, R. 1992. Silvia's Deer (Vergil, *Aeneid* 7.479-502): Game Parks and Roman Law. *The American Journal of Philology* 113.3: 435-439.

Stavrianopoulou, E. (ed.). 2006. *Ritual and Communication in the Graeco-Roman World*. Llége: Presses universitaires de Liège.

Stephens, V. 1990. Like a Wolf on the Fold: Animal Imagery in Vergil. *Illinois Classical Studies* 15.1: 107-130.

Stevens, C and Whittick, G. 1961. Frontinus. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 371-372.

Stewart, D. 1970. The Silence of Magna Mater. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 74: 75-84.

Storr, F. 1913. *Sophocles* in two volumes. London: William Heinemann.

Strega. 2020. In, *Collins Italian to English Dictionary* [Online]. Available at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/italian-english/strega [Accessed 7 May 2020].

Stroebel, E. 1915. *M. Tulli Ciceronis Rhetorici libri duo qui vocantur De Inventione*. Liber. Leipzig: Teubner.

Strohm, R. 2007. Liner notes for *Handel: Aci, Galatea e Polifemo*. Contrasto Armonico: Marco Vitale. Brilliant Classics 93665, 2 compact discs.

Struck, P. 2014. Animals and Divination. In Campbell, G. (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, 310-323.

Stutesman, D. 2005. *Snake*. London: Reaktion Books.

Sullivan, F. 1969. Mezentius: A Virgilian Creation. *Classical Philology* 64.4: 219-225.

Summers, M. 2003. *The Werewolf in Lore and Legend*. New York: Dover Publications.

Syed, Y. 2005. *Vergil's* Aeneid *and the Roman Self*: *Subject and Nation in Literary Discourse*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Syme, R. 1939. *The Roman Revolution*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Tarn, W. 1913. *Antigonos Gonatas*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Tennant, P. 1988. The Lupercalia and the Romulus and Remus Legend. *Acta Classica* 31: 81-93.

Tennant, P. 1995. Reflections on a mirror: possible evidence for the early origin of the canonical version of the Roman foundation legend. *Akroterion* 40: 64-79.

Thilo, G and Hagen, H. 1884. *Servius: In Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Thomas, R. 2001. *Virgil and the Augustan Reception*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thornton, M. 1996. Vergil's Injured Deer Motif in the *Aeneid*. *Latomus* 55.2: 389-393.

Toll, K. 1997. Making Roman-Ness and the *Aeneid*. *Classical Antiquity* 16.1: 34-56.

Toynbee, J. 1973. *Animals in Roman Life and Art*. London: Thames and Hudson

Treves, P. 1961. Salamis. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 789.

Ulbrich, A .2010. Images of Cypriot Aphrodite in her Sanctuaries during the Age of the City-Kingdoms. In Smith, A. and Pickup, S. (eds.). *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*, 167-194.

Ure, P. 1961. Hipparchus. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 428.

van der Mije, S. 2011. Bad Herbs: the Snake in *Iliad* 22. *Mnemosyne* 64.3: 359-382.

Vance, E. 1981. Sylvia's Pet Stag: Wildness and Domesticity in Virgil's Aeneid. *Arethusa* 14.1: 127-138.

Verity, A. and Instone, S. 2007. *Pindar*: *The Complete Odes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

von Bothmer, D. (ed.). 1990. *Glories of the Past*: *Ancient Art form the Selby White and Leon Levy Collection*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Voultsiadou, E. and Tatolas, A. 2005. The fauna of Greece and adjacent areas in the Age of Homer: evidence from the first written documents of Greek Literature. *Journal of Biogeography* 32: 1875-1882.

Vuolanto, V. 2013. Elite Children, Socialization and Agency in the Late Roman World. In Grubbs, J. and Parkin, T. (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, 580-599.

Wagener, A. 1912. *Popular Associations of Right and Left in Roman Literature*. PhD Dissertation. Baltimore: John Hopkins University.

Wallace-Hadrill, A. 1990. Pliny the Elder and Man's Unnatural History. *Greece and Rome* 37.1: 80-96.

Warmington, E. 1935. *Remains of Old Latin: Ennius and Caecilius* vol 1. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

Warmington, E. 1938. *Remains of Old Latin: Lucilius and The Twelve Tables* vol 3. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Warmington, E. 1961. Pomponius Mela. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 715.

Webster, T. 1961. Praxiteles. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 728.

Weeda, L. 2015. *Vergil's Political Commentary in the* Eclogues*,* Georgics *and* Aeneid. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Weinstock, S. 1971. *Divus Julius*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Whitby, M., Hardie, P and Whitby M. (eds). 1987. *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.

Whittick, G. 1961. Valerius Maximus. In Cary, M., Nock, A, Denniston J, et al (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 935.

Wigodsky, M. 1965. The Arming of Aeneas. *Classica et Mediaevalia* 26: 192-221.

Wilhelm, R. 1988. Cybele: The Great Mother of Augustan Order. *Vergilius* 34: 77-101.

Wilkins, E. 1921. A Classification of the Similes in Vergil's *Aeneid* and *Georgics*. *The Classical Weekly* 14.22: 170-174.

Wilkinson, R. 2005. *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

Willekes, C. 2016. *The Horse in the Ancient World: From Bucephalus to the Hippodrome*. London: I. B. Tauris & Co.

Williams, J. 2011. Why crows chase owls. *Star Tribune*, 27 December [Online]. Available at https://www.startribune.com/why-crows-chase-owls/135788548/ [Accessed 4 May 2020].

Williams, R. 1961. The Function and Structure of Virgil's Catalogue in *Aeneid* 7. *The Classical Quarterly* 11.2: 146-153.

Williams, R. 1987. *The Aeneid*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Willis, J. 1994. *Macrobius*: *Saturnalia*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner.

Wiseman, T. 1995. *Remus*: *a Roman Myth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Woolf, G. 2003. *Becoming Roman*: *the Origins of Provincial Civilisation in Gaul*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yamamoto, D. 2017. *Wild Boar*. London: Reaktion Books.

Zanker, P. 1988. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Shapiro, A., trans. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Zarker, J. 1972. The Hercules theme in the *Aeneid*. *The Vergilian Society* 18: 34-48.

Ziolkowski, J. and Putnam, M. (eds.). 2008. *The Virgilian Tradition*: *the first fifteen hundred years*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Zotou, A. 2014. Carmina Anacreontea 1-34: *Ein Kommentar*. Berlin: DeGruyter.